RESEARCH REPORTS NO. 1

Navajos in the Catholic Church Records

of

New Mexico

1694 - 1875

by

David M. Brugge

Research Section

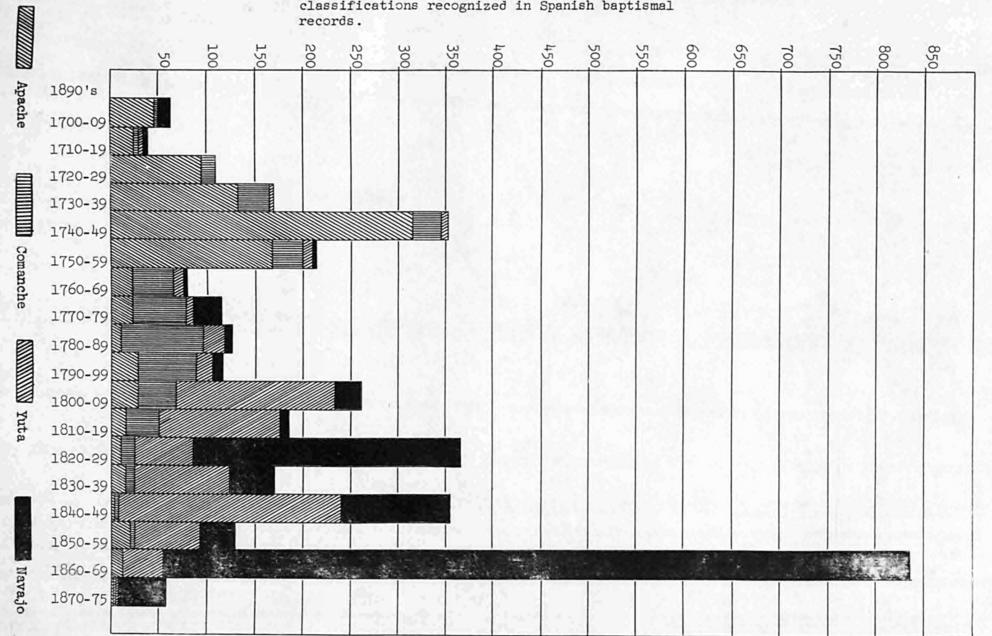
Parks and Recreation Department
The Navajo Tribe
Window Rock, Arizona
1968

FRONTISPIECE

Proportion of captives of the four major ethnic classifications recognized in Spanish baptismal records.

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To all

ałchini yazhi

but

especially

Dougie and Stevie

and

Janebaa'

Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon Governor and Captain-General of the Kingdom and Province of New Mexico and Castellano of its forces and Presidios for His Majesty=

In as much as I have news that the Apaches, that are bought in large and small exchanges by the citizens of this Kingdom and of other cutside jurisdictions that take them to distant places to sell, go out without being Baptized, which is the principal reason that the King, our lord whom God keep, permits and tolerates this traffic and the risk with which these souls depart, for I am informed that on the roads it sometimes happens that the Children fall from their mounts and are killed, as likewise happens in the wagons that go from this Kingdom, and today it has been reported that two children that the Apaches killed, yesterday, the Twenty-fifth of the current /month/ went for firewood with the sons of Miguel Coca, and they killed one and carried off alive the other, and having experience in the ports of the Indies of this Kingdom, that Ships enter with loads of Negros, and as soon as they arrive at the Port all the Priests of the City board said Ships and Subcondicione they apply the water of holy Baptism both to the large and the small and afterwards they pass to the Owners that buy them, who Instruct them in the _ doctrine, so that later they may be anointed with the /holy/ oils; I command all the Citizens of the Kingdom that as soon as they hear or receive news of this Bando they proceed to take all the Apaches with which they are found to the Reverend Father Ministers, so that they might Baptize them with the warning that I will not permit any to Depart from the Kingdom that I do not Know to be Baptized if small, and if large, if the Reverend Fathers should do it to them as it is practiced and I have seen_done in the_seaports With the loads of negros, that for said /disobedience/ I set the punishment of loss of said Apaches that might be recognized going without Baptism, and of not permitting them to trade in them for their omission and carelessness and Risk and I Order, in the Name of His Majesty, may God keep him, and on my part I Ask and Plead, that all the Said Reverend Father Ministers strive for the Knowledge that Citizens in their districts might give to them and have them Baptized Afterwards, and for Their Unwillingness they should give notice to me as much for the Service of God Our Lord as that which with truth His Majesty the King Our Lord charges and this Bando will be published in this Villa in the

Places Named so that it might come to the Attention of all its residents and will be passed to all the Jurisdictions of this Kingdom, Each Alcalde taking responsibility for its Fulfillment and the Last that Receives it will return it to this Office so that for all time it will be of Record where it is. Dated on the Twenty-Sixth of September of One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen and Joseph Manuel Gilthomey will sign two /copies/due to the absence of my secretary of government and war=

Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon

By order of the Governor and Captain-General Joseph Mal Gilthomey

New Mexico State Archives, Spanish Archives, SA 212.

CONTENTS

	Pag
Preface	ix
Introduction	xii
Chapter I. The Records	1
Chapter II. Tribal Groups	18
Chapter III. Geographic Distributions	32
Chapter IV. Primary Navajo Records	39
Chapter V. Conditions of Life for the Navajo Captives	99
	117
Chapter VII. Warfare	135
Chapter VIII. Conclusions	146
Appendix A. Households Having Six or More Captives . 1	L54
Appendix B. Jesus Arviso	L57
Frontispiece. Proportion of Captives of the Four Major Ethnic Classifications Recognized in Spanish Baptismal Records.	
Table 1. Baptisms by Decade	30
Table 2. Subjects of White-Controlled Governments Killed by Indians	31
Table 3. Distribution of Primary Yuta Entries	37
Table 4. Distribution of Primary Comanche Entries .	37
Table 5. Distribution of Primary Navajo Entries	38
Table 6. Distribution of Primary Apache Entries	38
Table 7. Status Attributed to Navajo Captives 1	.04

	Page
Table 8. Identity and Relation of Godparents To Owners	105
Table 9. Relationship of Godparents of Children of Navajos	108
Table 10. Comparison of Numbers of Baptisms of Navajo Captives with Numbers of Burials	109
Table 11. Burial Records of Navajo Captives by Age and Sex	110
Table 12. Number of Navajo Captives for Households, 19th Century	112
Table 13. Total Number of Captives in Households Having Navajo Captives, 19th Century	113
Table 14. Number of Captives in HouseholdsAs Shown by Head's Census of 1865	114
Table 15. Number of Reported Deaths in Wars between Navajos and Whites, by Decade and Type of Action .	136
Table 16. Correlation of Time of Attacks with Success	143
Table 17. Deaths in Burial Records, Per Decade, Attributed to Attacks by the Three Major Groups .	144
Table 18. Recorded Deaths in the Navajo Wars	145

PREFACE

This project began with research for the Navajo Tribe for its land claim case before the Indian Claims Commission, when a limited number of baptismal and burial records were searched for data pertaining to the Navajos. Trends observable in a small sample from five parishes suggested that a more complete search of these records might be profitable. When the need for a better control of Navajo historical data for aid in analysis of Navajo archaeological data became apparent, the job of searching all baptismal and burial records that could be located dating prior to 1876 was begun by J. Lee Correll and myself under the auspices of the Navajo Tribe. The work of searching the records was carried out intermittently in 1964 and 1965 and resulted in a file of about 7000 entries relating to tribes not under strong control by white governments.

Greatest emphasis was given to entries that mentioned Navajos, most of which were copied in full. Notes were taken for similar entries relating to other free tribes and some of these were also copied in their entirety. The analysis of the data has been more thorough for the Navajo entries, both because of the more complete information in our files and because of our better knowledge of Navajo history. The more complete integration of the information relating to other tribes we will leave for workers better equipped for the job. We hope that we have not made serious errors in our handling of data for the other tribes and apologize in advance for any that may have crept in.

The presentation of the data here is ethnohistoric in orientation, with an effort having been made to take into account cultural factors among both the various Indian tribes and the whites. In spite of efforts to achieve objectivity, I have, as an anthropologist, shown some partiality towards the Indians as opposed to the whites. The susceptibility of the data to quantification has, I hope, helped me to overcome a number of my subjective biases. On the other hand, the need to eliminate the inherent cultural bias of the white observers who wrote the contemporary documentation of history in the Southwest can best be met by the use of data which can be tabulated and studied for both cultural and historic changes.

I have, however, accepted certain basic postulates and rejected others, particularly in the narrative section of

Chapter IV, which are generally to be found underlying the outlook in historiographic writings dealing with Indians. taken as a first premise the idea that the whites, whether Spanish-American or Anglo-American, as aggressors in land disputes, were ultimately the guilty parties in warfare between Indians and whites. I have rejected as not worthy of consideration by any serious social scientist the idea that the reason Indians attacked whites and stole from them was because they were blood thirsty savages who had an inborn desire to kill and steal. I have assumed that the majority of contemporary documents written by whites were phrased in such a way as to uphold the moral position of the whites. I have not tried to give serious attention to the causes of warfare beyond the slave trade, the only cause upon which the church records shed significant new light. The facts that Christianity is a universalist religion and is given to proselytizing are doubtless significant beyond their effect in the attitudes of whites toward captives, but have not been given special attention here.

The history of a nonliterate people cannot be written by "letting the documents speak for themselves," for the documents were written by outsiders and aliens. A conscious effort has been made to understand events from the Navajo point of view without lapsing into the romanticism so frequently encountered in writings of this sort. This account is not meant to be a definitive description of Navajo-White relations, but merely to provide the framework for a better understanding of the significance of the brief but numerous baptismal and burial records mentioning Navajos. Probably no good history of the Navajo as such, rather than a mere recounting of Navajo-White relations, will be written until there is a Navajo ethnohistorian ready to undertake the work for his own people.

The ultimate objective of this work is a correlation of the narrative history and events with the cultural changes as revealed in Navajo archaeological and ethnographic data. This work is far beyond the scope of the present monograph, but the subjective conclusions relating to this matter that are possible at the present stage of research suggest that meaningful correlations will be possible. This monograph has been prepared in order to provide a historic basis for use with the anthropological data, but is published as a separate study because of the results which are of value in themselves.

Many thanks are due those who helped in this work. Particularly important was the cooperation of Monsignor M. J.

Rodriguez, J.C.D., and others of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe for permission to search the records maintained in the archives there and for help in locating the records we needed. Similarly the parish priests in many towns in New Mexico and southern Colorado were most hospitable in allowing us to search records in their care and to take up space in their often limited quarters in the process. Myra Ellen Jenkins of the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives was of great assistance in our search for documents needed to supply the historical background. Many of these had been previously located by historians working on various land claim projects in the southwest. Dr. Jenkins was one of these, but others who deserve mention for having contributed, albeit often unwittingly, to our documentary collections, are Dr. Frank D. Reeve, Mr. Albert H. Schroeder and Dr. Ward Allan Minge as researchers for the Justice Department and Acoma and Laguna Pueblos and Dr. George P. Hammond, Mr. Dale Morgan and Mr. Joseph P. Colgan as researchers for the Navajos. Mr. John P. Wilson of the Museum of New Mexico and Mr. Frank McNitt called our attention to a number of important documents which we would otherwise have missed. Typing and clerical help by Mrs. Helena Yazhe and Mrs. Jennie C. Baldwin contributed materially to the successful completion of this study. The graphs were drawn by Miss Marlene Gleason. I owe considerable gratitude to my colleague, Mr. J. Lee Correll, who did a great deal of the archival and library research upon which these results are based. Both Mr. Correll and Mrs. Editha L. Watson read the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions. All responsibility for interpretations are my own, however.

INTRODUCTION

It is commonly accepted that the documentary history of Indian tribes, being based upon the writings of white men, is the work of people who were frequently enemies and always aliens from the point of view of the Indians. Anthropologists are well aware of the degree of cultural bias in such data and the distortions that can result. While no anthropologist would think of using Indians of one tribe as the principal informants for the study of the culture of another tribe, we frequently are seduced by the written word and are all too accepting of dead Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards as informants regarding the past conditions of tribes in which we are interested. When working with living peoples we can frequently cross-check the information given by a large number of informants, but when working with the remote past we seldom find enough written material on any one subject to allow for certainty, while a wide-spread misconception about a nonliterate tribe might well have found its way into many of the writings of its literate neighbors. This highly selective preservation of data makes ethnohistorical study more akin to archaeological research than to ethnology.

An archaeologist frequently knows far more about the ceramics and architecture of a people than he does about the things that were stored or cooked in the pots or the people who lived and worshipped in the structures that he studies. So too, an ethnohistorian knows more about the wars, trade and missionary contacts with a tribe than he does about the thoughts of the tribal members who participated in these events or what the Indians might have been doing during the long periods between fighting, trading and listening to missionaries. Just as the archaeologist finds the tabulation of pottery and other artifact types useful in studying cultures, so the ethnohistorian may tabulate events which are of recurrent types and were of sufficient interest to the literate whites to be recorded with some regularity. These events seem always to have been dependent upon contact between the Indians and the whites and this makes them particularly valuable for studies of relationships between cultures. Identifications of changes brought about in the Indian cultures are often disappointingly few, as the data to follow will reveal, but the trends in the conditions under which culture contact took place are revealed in a manner which is not possible in a simple narrative history.

The baptismal and burial records of the Catholic Church in New Mexico are found to contain a large number of references to tribes which were not under the direct control of either the missionaries or the governments of the whites. Most of this large number of entries can be divided into a relatively few simple categories. An analysis of these categories upon the basis of their temporal and geographic distributions and the native Indian groups involved has been the major aim of the present study.

The categories found in the baptismal books included the baptisms of captives, the baptisms of individuals who were converted without the pressures associated with captivity, and the baptisms of the children born to converts of either The burial books contained records of the burials of people in all three of the above categories as well as the burial records of Catholics killed in wars with the free tribes. A few miscellaneous entries identifying the spouses of the converts, converts who acted as god-parents, tribes that sold captives to the New Mexicans and similar references were too few to be of value for tabulation. Time did not allow for a search of the marriage records, but a checking of a few books of marriages revealed that they were not nearly as productive of information as were the books of baptisms and burials. In spite of this, it is now apparent that even this less productive source should have been examined for better answers to some of the questions raised by the study of the data.

The separation of the entries by categories has generally not been difficult, but there was sometimes some uncertainty with individual entries. This was particularly true in the attempt to distinguish between willing converts and captive converts. In Chapter IV the Navajo entries are treated in considerable detail in their historical context and the ambiguous Navajo entries made apparent. In general the overall state of affairs in relationships between a tribe and the New Mexicans allows for placement of the entries when unclear as to type, and the number of entries of a particular type make possible an estimate of the degree of friendship or enmity existing that is not subject to the impressionistic biases of contemporary writings.

The trends that these records show in the nature of relationships between New Mexicans and the surrounding Indian tribes are in general the same as those revealed by the history

of these relationships derived from government archives and other contemporary sources, but the insights allowed into aspects of that history that are not fully apparent in the other documentary sources make this study worthwhile as a record of history. This is particularly true with regard to the holding of Indian captives as servants or slaves by the Some of the tabulated events could be expanded by more complete reference to government archives, particularly with regard to warfare, and further work along this line is contemplated when these data are to be correlated with the Navajo archaeological records. In spite of the limitation which has been accepted by relying primarily upon the church records for this study, results have been obtained which are of value in assessing the changes in the culture contact situations in New Mexico for a period of about 180 years. While there are hints of culture changes in this data, more definitive conclusions must be based upon evidence derived from the Indian cultures themselves. For the Navajos this evidence is primarily archaeological, but native tradition is generally consistent with the overall results and also requires consideration.

THE RECORDS

The greater part of this work has been based upon data extracted from the books of baptismal records and burial records of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and of the parishes under its jurisdiction and certain of the older parishes in the Diocese of Durango, the Diocese of El Paso and the Diocese of Gallup. In general these records are kept in the separate parishes for about 100 years, while older records are stored in the archives of the archdiocese or the diocese. Fray Angelico Chavez, O.F.M., indexed the archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe (Chavez, 1957) and his work was a very valuable reference in our search. There were, however, some books which had been sent to Santa Fe for storage since Fray Angelico's index was compiled and others which had been returned to the parishes for needs that had arisen there. In addition, the books in the parishes have never been indexed. Therefore, we present below a listing of all the books that we examined with their locations at the time we did so. Due to the requirements of routine church operations we cannot guarantee that they will always be found in exactly the same places by any future investigators, but the list should be of value for future work with the records, as well as constituting the most important listing in our bibliography of this work.

This study is based upon a sample of the total records of burials and baptisms that have been produced in the area under consideration. The temporal limits, 1694 to 1875, can be explicitly stated, but the inevitable losses due to fire, flood and other causes to which a dispersed set of records is subject, as well as the possibility that we may have failed to locate all of the extant records, have left us with less than the total. The listing given below will allow for easy identification of the major gaps, many of which are in periods that unfortunately come during important periods in the histories of the various tribes. There is no single year, however, that is not represented by some parish, and the record is proportionately a much larger sample than is used in many investigations in the social sciences. Lacking accurate information as to the dates at which a number of the parishes and missions were established or at which they became mere visitas with their records included in books belonging to another community, no precise determination of the proportion of the total included here is possible. A careful estimate indicates that about 70% of the records originally produced during the period from 1694 to 1875 have been examined, with

the baptismal records being somewhat more completely represented than the burial records. The baptismal sample may be as much as 75% complete, while the sample of burials is probably well under 70%.

Most of the books were originally kept at mission headquarters in Indian pueblos and maintained under the name of the mission, but neighboring settlements of whites and mestizos were served by the priests at the missions and all the records kept in one set of books. As the settlements grew in size they would become separate parishes with their own sets of records and if a neighboring Indian pueblo should diminish markedly in size it might become a visita of the white settlement. In short, the organizational details of church administration responded to the needs of the people served and the changes were often of a gradual type that are hazy in the surviving records. New settlements were often too small to justify a new parish, even when far removed from any resident priest, and a shortage of personnel sometimes made it necessary that even larger outlying settlements remain visitas for some time. This was particularly true in the 19th century when new settlements appeared in increasing numbers.

Some priests or scribes frequently noted when a burial or baptism was performed for a resident of a visita, but others habitually made the entries without this information. Thus, a study of these records to ascertain the dates of settlement and abandonment of various communities would be only partially successful. We did not systematically note such data as do occur in the books and have not been able to find any other source that is fully reliable as to these dates or as to the dates of founding, transferring or abolishing of the various parishes and missions. The estimate as to the degree of completeness of the records searched is based upon the books themselves and the information contained in Chavez's index (ibid.).

Some of the books have missing pages or gaps in their chronological sequences. While we may have missed noting some of these gaps, those for which we have information are indicated in the listing below. Some of these gaps are merely apparent gaps, the entries for the parish turning up in the book of a neighboring parish. In other cases the records have not been located. Unfortunately, we were not aware of this problem when we did the search and did not watch for this at the time, so that only where an entry pertaining to an Indian

group was noted in such a situation do we have the data to indicate that a gap is not real. In addition, some of the sequences of books for the same parish overlap. In most cases this is a result of entries for the later part of the period of overlap being in the earlier book and the entries for the earlier part being in the later book and probably is due only to accidental mixing of pages when worn books were rebound. The lengthy overlap at Taos is a different matter, however, and is due to the feud between Bishop Lamy and Father Martinez, the two sets of books covering essentially the same periods. (Francis, 1956)

The search of the books resulted in notes and copied extracts which are on file in the Navajo Land Claim Office in Window Rock. A large part of the extracts were translated. A card file was prepared with a separate card for each mention of a non-missionized tribe, giving date, location, names, ages and other pertinent information appearing in the entry.

	Baptismal Books Searc	hed	
Parish or			Years
Mission	Location of Book	File No.	Included
Abiquiu	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-10	1777-1811
"		B-1a	1821-1850
	Abiquiu	- 1 -	1861-1869
		-	1869-1907
Acoma	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-1	1725-1777
	Diocese of Gallup	4	1777-1806
	San Fidel Parish	- 1	1819-1828, 1840-1872
Albuquerque	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-2	1706-1736
		B-3	1743-1776
(i)		B-4	1776-1802
		B-5	1822-1828

Parish or <u>Mission</u>	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Albuquerque	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-6	1828-1835
	n	B-7	1835-1838
		B-8	1838-1842
		B-9	1842-1846
		B-10	1846-1850
п	San Felipe de Neri, Albuquerque	-	1857-1862
п	•	-	1862-1869
· ·	n e	-	1869-1875
Anton Chico	Anton Chico	-	1857-1871
	•	-	1871-1874
"		-	1874-1876
Antonito, Colorado	Antonito		1860-1861
n		-	1861-1868
и	n.	-	1868-1871
"	п	-	1871-1875
Arroyo Hondo	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	-	1852-1861
"	Taos		1861-1869
Belen	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-8	1810-1825
n	n	B-10	1826-1832
	u u	B-9	1832-1833

Parish or <u>Mission</u>	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Belen	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-11	1833-1843
"		B-12	1843-1851
"	Belen	-	1851-1866
n	n	-	1844-1892
Bernalillo- Sandia	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-13	1700-1712
	"	B-60	1771-1809
"		B-61	1809-1846
	Bernalillo	-	1846-1853
"		-	1853-1875
Cebolleta	Diocese of Gallup	-	1840-1845; 1849; 1863- 1886
"		"Blue Book"	1854-1861
Cochití	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-14	1736-1775
"		B-15	1776-1827
H .	Peña Blanca		1845-1873
Costilla, Colorado	Costilla		1865-1866; 1870-1881
El Rito	El Rito	-	1869-1886
Galisteo	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-16	1711-1729
Isleta	u u	B-57	1730-1776
	n		1829-1832; 1833-1836; 1841-1842

Parish or Mission	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Isleta	Isleta	-	1844-1878
Jemez	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-16	1701-1726
	п	B-17	1726-1829
н	Jemez Pueblo	-	1852-1882
La Joya, New Mexico	La Joya	- 10 <u>0</u> 16	1871-1900
Laguna	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-17a	1720-1776
	Diocese of Gallup	-	1777-1809
	•	-	1811-1837; 1840-1843; 1845; 1850-1875
Las Cruces, Doña Ana	Diocese of El Paso	-	1859-1876
Las Vegas	Las Vegas	-	1852-1857
		-	1857-1883
Manzano	Manzano	- 1	1867-1898
Mesilla	Diocese of El Paso	- 10 - 10 h	1852-1857
		-	1857-1859
		-	1857-1873
Mora	Mora	-	1856-1860
		- 1	1861-1876
Nambé	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-18a	1707-1727
	n	BUR-16	1726-1764
"		B-18 (B-21)	1771-1834

Parish or <u>Mission</u>	Location	of Book	File No.	Years Included
Nambé	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	B-40	1844-1850
Pecos-San Miguel		The state of the sale	B-19	1725-1774
u			B-20	1776-1829
"			B-1	1829-1839
"			B-2	1839-1844
н		"	B-3A	1844-1845
"		п	B-3	1845-1847
			B-4	1847-1848
n		n	B-7	1849-1853
"	Villa Nueva		-	1853-1864
н	"		-	1864-1877
Pecos	Pecos		-	1862-1863
"			-	1870-1882
Picurís- Peñasco	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	B-21	1750-1776
		n	B-22	1776-1834
"		n	B-50	1835-1843
"		n	B-51	1844-1852
"			B-52	1852-1858
п			B-53	1859-1867
	Peñasco		-	1867-1892
Pojoaque	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	B-23	1779-1839

Parish or Mission	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Sandia - Se	e Bernalillo-Sandia above.		
San Felipe	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-22a	1767-1829
	Peña Blanca	-	1841-1862
San Ildefon	so Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-24	1725-1781
	п	B-25	1781-1834
San Juan	n	B-27	1726-1774
"	n	B-42	1774-1798
		B-28	1799-1820
н	n	B-29	1820-1830
п	н	B-30	1830-1837
	Santa Cruz	-	1837-1856
	•	- 1	1857-1860
"	и	-	1860-1872
"	n.		1873-1898
Santa Ana	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-26	1771-1833; 1841-1844
Santa Clara	· ·	B-31	1728-1805
		B-32	1841-1853
"	Santa Cruz	-	1854-1880
Santa Cruz	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-34	1731-1767
н	n	B-35	1769-1780
•	"	B-36	1781-1794
	н	B-37	1795-1819

Parish or Mission	Locatio	n of E	Book		File No.	Years Included
Santa Cruz	Archdioces	e of S	Santa	Fe	B-38	1820-1833
		"			B-39	1834-1843
"	Santa Cruz				-	1844-1856
п	"				-	1856-1869
	H.				4 5 6 6	1869-1894
Santa Fe	Archdiocese	e of S	anta	Fe	B-62	1747-1770
		"			B-63	1770-1777
"		"			B-64	1777-1791
"					B-65	1796-1814
н		"			B-67	1814-1822
•		"			B-68	1823-1826
"					B-69	1826-1833
n .		"			B-69a	1833-1839
н		"			B-70	1839-1841
"		"			B-71	1841-1848
"					B-72	1848-1851
п	Santa Fe Ca	thedra	1		-	1851-1861
н	n				-	1861-1870
	н				-	1871-1881
Santa Fe Castrense	Archdiocese	of Sa	nta F	е	B-66	1798-1833
Santo Domingo	0				B-44	1771-1777
n					B-43	1829-1836

Parish or Mission	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Santo Doming	o Archdiocese of Sant	ta Fe B-43A	1837-1846
"	Peña Blanca	-	1846-1861
		-	1861-1886
и		-	1871-1888
Sapello	Las Vegas	-	1861-1882
Silver City	Diocese of El Paso	-	1874-1888
Socorro	Archdiocese of Santa	Fe B-74	1821-1829
"	и	B-75	1829-1844
"		B-76	1844-1850
	Socorro	-	1865-1889
Tesuque	Archdiocese of Santa	Fe B-53	1694-1727
Tomé		B-54	1793-1810
"		B-71	1809-1827
u		B-72	1827-1835
n		B-73	1835-1847
n	Tomé	-	1847-1883
n .,	Tomé	-	1856-1868
Taos	Archdiocese of Santa	Fe B-45	1701-1727
п	,	B-46	1777-1798
н		B-38	1799-1826
	"	B-47	1827-1830
		B-48	1830-1833

Parish or <u>Mission</u>	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Taos	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-49	1833-1837
н		B-48a	1837
	u u	B-50	1837-1844
Section 1		B-52	1844-1847
	· ·	B-53	1847-1850
	Taos	-	1850-1853
"	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-55	1853-1857
п	Taos	-	1857-1866
н	9.84	4	1866-1871
"	"	-	1871-1879
Taos, 2nd Series	n	-	1856-1859
	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-58	1859-1869
Trinidad, Colorado	Trinidad	-	1866-1875
Tularosa	Diocese of El Paso	-	1869-1891
Zia	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-55	1694-1724; 1727-1772
Zuni	Library of Congress	Indian Papers, Vol. III	1775-1827; 1829-1830; 1832-1834, 1841
		Indian A. Papers,	1844-1845; 1847-1850; 1853; 1855- 1856; 1858

Parish or Mission	Location	of Book	File No.	Years Included		
Burial Books Searched						
Abiquiu	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	B-1a	1821-1850		
н	Abiquiu		-193	1862-1881		
Acoma	San Fidel		-	1819-1828		
Albuquerque	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	BUR-2	1706-1736		
"			BUR-3	1776-1819		
			BUR-4	1819-1838		
		н	BUR-6	1838-1854		
	San Felipe d	de Neri	-	1854-1900		
Anton Chico	Anton Chico		-2124	1857-1903		
Antonito, Colorado	Antonito		-	1860-1896		
Belen	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	B-54	1793-1795; 1811-1831		
. "	Belen		-	1838-1885		
Bernalillo- Sandia	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	B-13	1701-1709		
n .	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	BUR-46	1771-1830		
		n	BUR-47	1809-1858		
п	Bernalillo		-	1858-1897		
Cebolleta	Diocese of G	Sallup		1844-1845; 1860-1893		
Cochití	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	BUR-8	1776-1845		
"	Peña Blanca		-	1846-1873		

Parish or Mission	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Costilla, Colorado	Costilla		1865-1926
El Rito	El Rito	-	1870-1915
Galisteo	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	BUR-9	1778-1829
Isleta		BUR-10	1726-1776
	Isleta	BUR-11	1849-1866
Jemez	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-16	1701-1720
1455	Jemez Pueblo	-	1852-1907
La Joya	La Joya		1872-1889
Laguna	Diocese of Gallup	-	1777-1847
	н	-	1847-1886
Las Cruces- Doña Ana	Diocese of El Paso		1859-1876
Las Cruces- St. Geneviev	re		1862-1864
Las Vegas	Las Vegas		1862-1880
Manzano	Manzano		1858-1916
Mesilla	Diocese of El Paso	-	1852-1881
Mora	Mora	-	1856-1860
		-	1861-1876
Nambe	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	BUR-15	1707-1725
н	n	BUR-16	1726-1757
и	n	BUR-17	1772-1869

Parish or Mission	Location	of	Book		File No.	Years Included
Pecos-San Miguel del Va	Archdiocese do	of	Santa	Fe	BUR-18	1727-1772
					BUR-9	1778-1829
		"			BUR-1	1829-1847
•	Villa Nueva				- 3	1847-1888
Pecos, N.M.	Pecos				-	1862-1863; 1870-1883
Picurís- Peñasco	Archdiocese	of	Santa	Fe	BUR-19	1728-1776
		"			BUR-20	1777-1840
н		"			BUR-21	1840-1858
n	Peñasco				-	1859-1907
Pojoaque	Archdiocese	of	Santa	Fe	BUR-22	1779-1852
Sandia - See	Bernalillo-Sa	and.	ia abov	ve.		
San Felipe	Archdiocese	of	Santa	Fe	BUR-25	1726-1834; 1840
		"			BUR-26	1841-1860
San Ildefonso	Santa Cruz				BUR-24	1840-1855
"W					BUR-25	1855-1875
San Juan	Archdiocese	of	Santa	Fe	BUR-27	1726-1776
		"			BUR-28	1776-1827
"		11	1		BUR-36	1830-1857
	San Juan				-	1857-1895
Santa Ana	Archdiocese	of	Santa	Fe	BUR-29	1726-1752

Parish or Mission	Location	of Book	File No.	Years Included
Santa Ana	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	BUR-29a	1765-1771
Santa Clara			BUR-30	1726-1842
Santa Clara- Chama			BUR-31	1854-1866
Santa Cruz			BUR-32	1726-1768
			BUR-33	1769-1789
н			BUR-32a	1789-1795
п			BUR-34	1795-1833
			BUR-35	1834-1859
н	Santa Cruz		-	1860-1924
Santa Fe	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	BUR-48	1726-1780
"		п	BUR-49	1780-1800
"			BUR-50	1800-1816
		"	BUR-52	1816-1834
		n	BUR-53	1845-1852
	Santa Fe Cat	chedral	1 - 10	1852-1874
· ·			-	1874-1894
Santa Fe Castrense	Archdiocese	of Santa Fe	BUR-51	1779-1833
Santo Domingo			BUR-37	1771-1846
п			BUR-38	1846-1869
	Pena Blanca		-	1868-1889
Sapello	Las Vegas		_	1860-1892

Parish or Mission	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Socorro	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	BUR-55	1821-1844
		BUR-56	1844-1853
	Socorro	-	1854-1912
Tesuque	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-53	1694-1713
Tomé	•	BUR-54	1809-1855
	Tomé	-	1858-1952
Taos	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	B-45	1701-11; 1716-1725
ı		B-38	1802-1826
	u	BUR-39	1827-1835
		BUR-40	1835-1843
		BUR-41	1843-1850
н	u u	BUR-42	1850-1865
3	Taos	-	1865-1871
	u .	-	1871-1899
Taos, 2nd Series	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	-	1861-1872
Trinidad	Trinidad	-	1866-1867
	"	-	1874-1875
Tularosa	Diocese of El Paso	- :	1869-1907
Zia	Archdiocese of Santa Fe	BUR-44	1727-1772
Zuni	n e	BUR-45	1701-1702; 1705-1712
		M-45	1725-1776

Parish or Mission	Location of Book	File No.	Years Included
Zuni	Library of Congress	Indian Papers, Vol. II	1805-1827; 1844-1845; 1847

Chapter II

Tribal Groups

The non-Christianized tribes mentioned in church records include many that are known by different names today and some that are no longer in existence. Not all of these are easily identifiable. Terminology varied and names were sometimes used in an extensive sense to identify a group of related tribes.

The greatest numerically were the Apacheans. Of these, the Navajos were the only portion identified by tribe with any consistency. There are more entries identified as Navajo than for any other category. Second in number are entries labeled merely "Apache." The various other Apachean groups seem generally to have been lumped together, and the number of entries identifiable by tribe or band are almost negligible, except for the Jicarillas. They are listed here, with the total number of entries of all classes in which they appear:

1750-51 Carlana 2 1840-54 2 Covotero Faraon 1729-66 Gileño 1748-1816 20 Jicarilla 59 1704-1862 Lipan 2 1799-1816 Llanero 1 1818 Mescalero (West) -1705-09 5 1871-73 Mescalero (East) -2 1781 Natage 2 Quartelejo 1 1741 Quituche 1732-71 4 Salinero (West) 4 1708 Sierra Blanca 1798 1

In addition the Aa (Ae) Tribe may have been Apachean. While there are occasional entries where the marginal notation and the text of the entry differ as to tribe, the only instance of "Apache" being coupled directly with the name of a tribe not definitely known to be Apachean was found in an entry for 1742 in BUR-32, Santa Cruz, p. 32, where the marginal note reads "AA Apache." The relatively large number of Aa entries, 121, shows that the tribe was differentiated with some consistency and it may, like the Navajos, have been a tribe that was linguistically Apachean but culturally quite distinct.

Second in importance numerically are the Shoshoneans. One group of these, the puebloan Hopis, were very different culturally and seem always to have been identified as "Moquis" or "Moquinos," but it is not certain that all the people so listed were speakers of Hopi. Many were probably speakers of Keres or the various Tanoan languages, refugees and descendants of refugees who fled to Hopi following Vargas' Reconquest. The cultural distinctiveness of the plains-dwelling Comanche also kept that tribe distinct and the Cuampes, who were mentioned but rarely, were probably a band of that tribe.

The term "Yuta" is that which appears most frequently in this group. It was obviously used as a general term for all Utes and Paiutes, unless the commonly-held belief that Paiutes supplied a large proportion of the Indian servants in New Mexico (Bailey, 1966, 143 et seq.) is entirely wrong. The consistency with which Paiutes were differentiated seems to have increased in the later periods, however. Again, while tribes and bands were not regularly identified, occasional references of a more detailed nature help to show which people were involved. They are listed here to give what information is available:

Capote 1857 1799-1801 Chahuahuana 2 Pabante 3 1839-49 Sahuano 1832-41 Sogochi 4 1812-14 Timpanagos 30 1810-51

A more distant tribe of this linguistic grouping appears rather infrequently. The Shoshones appear four times with the following spellings: Siosion, Soson, Chosona and Chochona, the entries dating between 1824 and 1856. An entry for 1838 gives "la tribu Soson del Norte," which suggests that the more frequent references to the "tribu del Norte" and the "Nacion del Norte" may also be Shoshones. There are 24 references to these northerners, the dates extending from 1821 to 1867.

Another tribe, the Flatheads, were identified with some certainty by the names "Cabesas aplastadas" and "la Tribu Cabesona" and were believed to come from the west of the Utes, so that they were also identified as "la Tribu del Occidente." Another name, written "Yaques" or "Jaques" was also applied to a woman "de las tribus De naciones de occidente." In all, only 13 entries ranging in date from 1828 to 1860, fall into

this grouping.

Yuman tribes are represented by a few entries. There were nine "Conino" baptisms and one burial dating between 1801 and 1846. These were probably all Havasupais, Walapais or Yavapais taken by New Mexicans, except the one Conino baptized in 1801 at Jemez, who was probably captured by the Navajos in their war with the Moquis and Coninas of that year (NMSRCA, SA 1548) and sold to the Spanish-Americans. In addition there are two baptisms identified as "Ninjoro" and "Nijora" respectively in 1798 and 1799. These may have been Yavapais, or at least Yuman-speakers traded from Sonora. (Dobyns, Ezell, Jones & Ezell, 1960.) "Yuma" or "Lluma" seems to have been a general term for River Yumans and most of the 30 records of these peoples are not more specifically identified. All date between 1799 and 1849. More specific identifications are as follows:

Ylchidume Chuchana - 1 - 1799 Salchi Yuma - 2 - 1820 Salchiyu - 2 - 1821

One of the captives listed as "Salchiyu" in 1821 later had a child baptized and was identified then merely as "Yuma."

Of other tribes appearing, the most numerous are the .
Kiowas with 92 entries from 1727 to 1873, the Pawnees with 55 from 1702 to 1854 and the Jumanos, for which 33 entries dating from 1703 to 1838 were found.* Most of the miscellaneous tribes were located at a considerable distance and a number of linguistic stocks are represented, as well as several names that are not identifiable. These are:

Coba (?) 1777 (Soba?) 1732 (possibly merely Diueves (?) "Diversos Naciones") Fassiba 1772 Feluta 1860 (Ute?) 1 Gualliache 1 1847 Guayas 1 1801 1814 (Probably Osage Guazaza 1 or Ponca, per Troike, 1964, p. 384)

^{*} See Brugge 1965 for more detailed data relating to these tribes. Some additional entries have been located since that paper was published, however.

Janche (Xanche)	-	2	-	1813-26
Mascoques	-	1	-	1847
Mobna	-	1	-	1816
Opata	-	2	-	1801-24
Pacanavo (?)	-	1	-	1841
Papago	-	3	-	1800-52
Paqui (?)	-	1	-	1757
Payana	-	1	-	1855 (possible error
				for "pagana"?)
Pima	1-0	5	_	1764-1861
Piro	-	3	-	1727-1802
Saretica (?)		1	-	1843 (Comanche?)
Serana	-	1		1798
Suma		1	-	1802
Talache (?)		1	-	1802
Tarahumara	114	2	-	1736
Tobreca	1011	1	-	1767

Poor handwriting may have obscured the correct spelling of the more unfamiliar names. Some of these tribes were at least partially missionized and the Opatas, Pimas, Papagos, Tarahumaras, Piros and the one Suma may not have been captives or servants. Included, however, are a number of baptisms of people well past the age for baptism if born into Christian families. Only the two Tarahumara entries, the burial records of a man and his wife, appear particularly suggestive of Christian Indians come from a distant mission.

The frontispiece presents a graph of the tribes supplying captives to the New Mexicans by decades. is a detailed breakdown of all baptisms, both captives and converts, including some mentioned in correspondence for which the actual entries are lacking. There were no baptisms located for the 1690's and it may be presumed that the Spaniards were too busy with their re-conquest of the Pueblos to give much attention to other tribes. From 1700 to the 1750's more captives were obtained from tribes identified merely as "Apache" than from any other category, with the high point coming in the 1740's. This period corresponds well with the expansion of the Comanches into the Plains, disrupting and disorganizing the Plains Apaches, and it seems a logical conclusion that most of these "Apaches" came from plains groups. There is no way of telling from the baptismal entries how many of these people were taken captive by the Spaniards themselves or how many, were captured by Comanches and then sold in New Mexico.

As the Comanches and other plains tribes moved into country once controlled by the Plains Apaches, they not only replaced the Apaches as eastern neighbors of New Mexico, but also as the victims of the New Mexicans' slave trade. They were better able to hold their own, however, and the last four decades of the 18th century were among the least productive for the New Mexicans in this activity. Two factors are probably of significance in accounting for the relative success of the Plains Apaches' successors. First, they were not as hard pressed by other tribes as the Apaches had been. Second, and of greatest importance, was the fact that these tribes were able to obtain more firearms for their own defense. The peak came in the 1780's and Anza's significant victory over Cherna Verde's Comanches was doubtless a factor then, but the increase in captives did not continue into the nineties.

By 1800 the New Mexicans had begun to look for a source of captives that they could exploit more easily. Attention shifted to the Shoshonean speakers to the north. Through the first two decades of the century plains tribes supplied a significant number of servants, but the number declined steadily and suddenly peoples called "Yutas" were in the majority. In the 1820's the Navajos became the chief victims, largely as a result of Vizcarra's campaign of 1823 and its aftermath. Hopis and other western tribes were hit during this period also. The Yutas were not ignored, however, and through the next three decades their people made up the greater part of the servants baptized in New Mexico. The western tribes, particularly the Navajo, supplied somewhat less than a third of the captives during this period. In the 1850's the number of baptisms reached the lowest point since 1800, and it is probable that a significant proportion of the baptisms during that decade were baptisms of people who had been in captivity for some time already. The United States government looked with disfavor upon the trade, and the unknown potential of the United States Army, a new factor in the southwest, brought a short period of relative peace.

In the late 1850°s, as a result of war with the Navajos, it became apparent, however, that the United States was firmly committed to the defense of the New Mexicans regardless of circumstances. In 1860 Spanish-Americans took part in a Navajo war and brought their captives home to be baptized. Following this war, raiders continued to invade Navajo country for captives. The disruption of the Civil War allowed slave raiding to increase even more and Kit Carson's Navajo campaign and the Fort Sumner exile encouraged it. The New Mexicans more

than made up for their short deprivation of new servants and the baptisms of captives reached an all-time high.

Following the establishment of peace with the Navajos the baptisms recorded were mostly those of Indians who had already been in captivity for some time, and the taking of Indian captives as servants was rapidly brought under control.

There was another class of baptisms that needs to be considered here, those of voluntary converts. Except for Navajos and Hopis, the numbers of these are negligible. Voluntary conversions of Navajos were greatest during the 1730's through the 1770's. After this period they were rare and even following the return from exile at Fort Sumner we found only 18 such baptisms through the cut-off date of 1875.

Hopi baptisms appear in the 1740's and '50's as a result of missionary efforts to bring Hopis to the Rio Grande, and again in the 1780's under similar circumstances. How many people listed as Hopi were actually of Keres or Tanoan descent is not determinable. There are two early references to Jemez people at Hopi. In 1704 a two-year-old boy, of Jemez descent, but of unknown parents, was brought from Hopi and baptized at Jemez. In 1708 the child of a Jemez woman was baptized and the entry included the information that the child's father was at Hopi. No more mention of Hopi was found in the baptismal records until 1742 when the children of the people brought back by Fray Carlos Delgado were baptized. On October 21st and 22nd twelve children were baptized at Santa Clara. On November 9th and 10th another 83 children were baptized at Isleta. The Isleta baptisms were signed by Delgado and described as "children that I took from the Province of Moqui, sons of Gentile parents."

In 1743 there were more baptisms. On March 15th a "son of pagan Hopis" was baptized at Isleta. His age was not given. By June the people over seven years of age who had been brought out by Delgado had been catechized and another series of mass baptisms began, this time of people listed as "adultos." On June 4th seventeen "natives of the Province of Moqui" were baptized at Isleta. There followed three baptisms on the 16th and 19th, two being of children. Then on June 23rd another 50 "adults" were baptized there. The next mention was at Jemez, where seven children under seven years of age, all "of pagan parents congregated in this pueblo" were baptized. Another eight children "of pagan parents" were baptized at the same place on October 21st. Finally,

four adults from Hopi were baptized at Laguna on October 28th.

Early in 1744 there were scattered individual baptisms of Hopis at Isleta and San Juan. By October the "adults" at Jemez had been catechized and 34 "natives of Hopi" were baptized there. In the meantime, some of the converts had children born in their new homes and two "legitimate" babies were baptized at Isleta.

For the remainder of the '40's the baptismal records contain only baptisms of babies born to Hopis, one at Isleta in 1746 and one at Jemez in 1748. The numbers are well below those reported by the missionaries in the 1740's (Montgomery, Smith and Brew, 1949, pp. 29-34), but the baptismal records for the Sandia-Bernalillo area are missing.

In 1756 two Hopis were baptized at Santa Clara, both early in the year. On November 6 there was a baptism of eight young Hopi children at Santa Fe with the consent of their parents who were being catechized, having just arrived. In the following year one Hopi baptism was recorded at San Ildefonso, but the only group baptism was of five "large Moquinos" at Santa Clara on October 14th. These were probably the parents and/or older siblings of the children baptized in Santa Fe in 1756. Only two Hopi baptisms were noted for 1758, one of a 38 year old woman at Jemez in March and one of a baby whose father was called "el Moquino" at Santa Clara in July. In 1759 two adult Hopi women were baptized, due to being in imminent danger of death, at San Ildefonso. One "adult" Hopi was baptized at the same place in 1760. Then there is a gap in the series.

Through the 1770's a number of offspring of "Hopi" parents were baptized at Sandia, but there is no record of new converts brought from Hopi. One of these lists the father as "Indio Moquino" and the mother as "India Tiguas."

Beginning in 1780 new migrants from Hopi appear. In March three adults were baptized because of illness, two at Santa Clara and one at Santo Domingo. All three died. This was followed on April 9th with the baptism of eleven young children at Santa Clara. These people were probably all part of the same influx that brought more people to Sandia, where, on May 1st, eight people ranging in age from about three years to about 40 years, including one married couple, were baptized. They were described as "just arrived in the month of December of the past year of 1779 from the Province of Moqui." Two weeks later an "adult" was baptized at Santa Clara due to

illness. On May 26th four Hopis were baptized at Jemez. One was about two years old, but the others were over seven and were baptized due to being "in danger of death," the same reason being given for the baptism of two more Hopis at the same pueblo on June 3rd.

In the midst of this migration there was some trading in Hopi children. In August a Hopi child purchased by Melchor Charria, a Santa Ana Indian, was baptized. In September a Hopi child was baptized at Sandia and described as being "in the power of Pedro Gutierres," a phrase usually reserved for captives. Again in October a Santa Ana Indian who had purchased a Hopi boy had him baptized.

New immigrants continued to arrive, however. Two Hopi children reached Sandia on October 4th, presumably accompanied by their parents, and they were baptized on the 9th. Other young children received baptism at Sandia, Santa Clara and San Ildefonso during the latter part of the year. In addition two "Moquino" women gave birth to babies baptized at Sandia. One of these had a Tigua father.

On January 12th there was a group baptism of five "adults," ranging in age from nine years up, at Sandia. These people had arrived from Hopi in October 1780 and may have included the parents of the children baptized on October 9th. By the middle of January a small pox epidemic had begun. Between January 15th and February 17th there were nineteen baptisms of Hopis at Sandia, all performed due to "extreme necessity." At least six of those baptized were classified as "adults," but some were young children who would have been eligible for baptism anyhow. Again the numbers are far less than the 200 people Anza is reported to have brought out, but whether this is due to missing baptismal records or exaggerated reports is not certain. (Montgomery, Smith and Brew, 1949, p. 40.)

Following the epidemic no records of Hopis were found until 1782. One "adult" was baptized at Cochiti in April when about to die and four Hopi or half Hopi infants were baptized during the year, the places of their baptisms being Sandia, San Ildefonso and Santa Clara. Throughout the rest of the 1780's the Hopi baptisms seem generally to have been of converts, five at Santa Clara, one at Sandia, one at Jemez and two at Cochiti. One at Abiquiu is less definite. There were also numerous baptisms of infants born to Hopi parents at Sandia. As late as 1787 some of the adults at Sandia had

not yet been baptized, but whether they were recent immigrants or had been there a few years is uncertain.

The latest records found of baptisms of Indians from Hopi who were not captives were the entries for the baptism of two women, one about 30 and the other about 40 years of age, who had pagan parents and who had moved to Jemez. They were baptized on September 2, 1793, but the date of their arrival from Hopi was not recorded. All later baptisms seem to be definitely of servants acquired by purchase or capture. Children born to Hopi converts continued to appear in the records of Jemez, Santa Clara and Sandia, but "Moquino" was coming into use as a surname and the records are unclear as to the exact status of the parents, whether they themselves were converts or the second generation descended from the immigrants.

The burial records indicate that mortality among the immigrants was rather high. Among those who came to Isleta in the early 1740's there were 25 deaths by the end of 1744. At least seventeen of these were children under seven years. As the newcomers became acclimated, however, deaths decreased and only three deaths at Santa Clara were located for the rest of the decade. Mortality continued to be moderate through the '50's, '60's and '70's. The new migrations in the 1780's were again accompanied by high mortality rates, however. In 1780 there were seventeen deaths, mostly of adults, the places of burial being Sandia (7), Santa Clara (4), Santo Domingo (2) and San Felipe (4). Those buried at the last two places were probably still enroute to their destinations, as these two pueblos received few, if any, permanent settlers from Hopi.

The winter of 1781 was the time of one of the worst small-pox epidemics to strike New Mexico, and the Hopi migrants were hit very hard. Between January 10th and March 10th there were 66 burials. All were buried at either Sandia or Santa Clara, and some of those at Sandia were called Tiguas. Following this epidemic the mortality rates leveled off and, as in the baptismal records, the ambiguity of the use of "Moquino" makes identification of immigrants uncertain, although a number of burial entries do identify individuals more specifically as being originally from the Province of Moqui and settlers of Sandia.

The precise identity of all the people who came to Sandia from Hopi is not indicated. A number of the entries for the period made a distinction between "Moquinos" and "Tiguas," but few of the baptismal entries for immigrants do so. Most of

the entries where the distinction appears are for the baptisms of children born after the immigrants arrived and the parents and godparents are then often distinguished by these terms. Some of the burial entries also distinguish between the two at Sandia. The parents of one child buried in 1787 are even described as "Moquinos de Nacion, y nativos del Pueblo de Oraibe." A particularly significant entry is the burial record of Jose, "Cazique delos Tiguas," dated October 19, 1785. He was 70 years old and originally from Hopi. At Jemez and Santa Clara no distinction was made. It seems logical to assume that those settled at Jemez were Towa and those at Santa Clara Tewa, but a specific statement to this effect does not appear.

The burial records at Zuni give some additional data relating to Hopi history. Two Zuni deaths resulting from a campaign against the Hopis in 1701 are recorded. Diego Chillo was killed at Walpi while fighting on the side of the Spaniards against the Hopis on July 12, 1701. Francisco, a war captain, received an arrow wound at Oraibi and died on July 30th. He was buried at Zuni. This apparently was Cubero's unsuccessful expedition to avenge the destruction of Awatovi. (Montgomery, Smith and Brew, 1949, p. 24.) On March 30, 1706, the Hopis staged an "ambush" near Zuni and killed seven Zunis, including four adult men, two widows (one 70 years old) and an infant. This attack may well have been partially responsible for Cuervo y Valdez's two expeditions to Hopi in 1707. (Ibid., p. 25.)

Table 2 presents a summary of burials of people killed by the free tribes in their wars with New Mexico. No search was made to supplement these figures with the deaths for which we did not find burial records and as a result only a few of these burials are of people killed while on campaign. Most were killed in attacks made upon New Mexico at locations near their homes.

The "Apache" entries include a number of tribes and bands and are difficult to correlate with the baptisms. It is of interest to note that the high point in Apache baptisms is between 1730 and 1760 while the high point for deaths caused by Apaches is between 1780 and 1810. This would seem to be good support for the theory that the large number of Apache baptisms in the mid-18th century was primarily due to Comanche pressure on the plains and that Plains Apaches were those most involved. The high point in deaths caused by Apaches probably was the result of attacks by the southern Apaches who were at war with New Mexico during this period. The preponderance of

the attacks were in the Rio Abajo, which would fit this interpretation well. The attacks in the 1830's also were in the south. The high number for the first decade of the 18th century may include Navajo attacks. Six deaths at Jemez attributed to "Apaches" on June 8th, 1709, were caused by Navajos (Reeve, 1958, p. 225), and the remaining attacks, at Tesuque, Nambe, Jemez and Zuni, might well have been by the same tribe. Neither these nor attacks by "Apaches" in August 1710 at Zuni and August 1713 and November 1714 at Jemez can be identified with certainty as to the Apacheans involved, but there was warfare with the Navajos during much of this period.

The few raids by Pawnees and Kiowas came toward the end of the period during which members of those tribes were being baptized as servants. It is probable that there was little direct contact of these and other distant plains tribes with the New Mexicans and that most captives were purchased from intermediate tribes.

There is a clear correlation between the baptisms of Comanche captives and Comanche warfare from their inception into the 1780's. After 1790 a high proportion of the Comanche baptisms was of adults, and these were probably performed for people taken captive some years earlier. Others were captives purchased from different tribes, at least one, in 1794, having been ransomed from the Utes. Occasional hostilities doubtless supplied some of the remainder.

The Utes appear to have been singularly unsuccessful in their efforts to kill New Mexicans. However, a close correlation between captives and hostilities is not to be expected, for a large proportion of the captives baptized as "Yutas" were doubtless Paiutes, whose poverty and distance from the settlements did not allow them much opportunity to retaliate.

The correlation between the baptism of Navajo captives and the periods of warfare is quite good and will be considered in detail in Chapter IV.

In summary it can be said that the baptismal records of captives show a shift from east to north to west which appears to correlate with the increasing trade in firearms and

ammunition from the east.* Successful missionary efforts, at least up to the point of baptism, were carried out only with tribes to the west and these prior to the shift in slave raiding patterns in that direction. There is some correlation between the tribes from which servants were obtained and the tribes involved in attacks upon New Mexico, but the exact relationship is not entirely clear and is demonstrable only for tribes that occupied lands close to New Mexico and which were clearly identified by specific tribal names rather than by general linguistic groupings.

^{*} The effect of arms trade from the east upon Spanish-Indian relations appears to have begun in the 1790's. (Troike, Rudolph C., "A Pawnee Visit to San Antonio in 1795," Ethno-history, Vol. II, No. 4. 1964, p. 380.)

TABLE 2
SUBJECTS OF WHITE-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENTS KILLED BY INDIANS

Period by	T R I B E S	Apaches-General	Faraon	Jicarillas	Pawnees	Kiowas	Comanches	Utes	Navajos	Gileños	Mescaleros (Western Apache?)	Salineros (Zuni area)	Hopis	Zunis	Tribe not given	Totals	-
1690's		_	-	_			-	_	-	-		-	-	-	-		ω
1700's	2	21	-	_	-	-	-	-	6	-	5	4	9	4	3	52	1
1710's		3	_	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	1
1720's		6	2	_	_	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	
1730's		6	_	_	-	-	6	-	3?	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	
1740's		9	_	-	-	-	20	11		-	-	-	-	-	18	58	
1750's		7	_	_	-	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	30	
1760's		2	_	-	_	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	11	
1770's		13	_	-	_	-	111	-	2	6	-	-	-	-	79	211	
1780's		43	77.75	-1	-	-	14	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	5	66	
1790's		17	1	2	-	N. 21.	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	23	
1800's		33	_	2	3	1	_	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	6	63	
1810's		10	- 55-1	_	9_1	-	1	_	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	
1820's		-		-	_	1	-	-	55	-	-	-	-	-	35	91	
1830's		16	_	1	_	_	-	1	36	-	-	-	-	-	34	88	
1840's		7	_	_	_	-	-	3	19	-	-	-	-	-	28	57	
1850's		1	_	1	_	-	-	_	2	-	-	-	-	-	8	12	
1860's	16.	12	_		1 2 2	-	-	-	34	-	-	-		-	17	63	
1870's		-		_	_	-	-	_	-	-	-	-			2	2	
TOTALS	2	06	2	6	3	2	168	17	199	12	5	4	9	4	260	897	

Chapter III

Geographic Distributions

Primary records are here defined as those that are the direct result of contact between an independent tribe and the New Mexicans or an intermediate group. They include baptismal records of people born into the independent tribe and burial records of people killed in attacks by the tribe, as well as a few miscellaneous items. Secondary records, to be considered in Chapter V, are more relevant to the conditions of life of people who were no longer members of their tribe of origin and who had become subjects of the government of New Mexico, and include baptismal records of children born to these people and burial records of both these people and their children.

Primary records may be delayed, as when an adult who did not know Spanish had to learn that language in order to be catechized prior to baptism, or when a traveler was killed far from the settlements and his remains not found until later. Most baptismal records can be placed in a temporal position with relation to the events leading up to baptism, however, and the burial records of most people killed by Indians seem to date shortly after the date of death.

All primary entries for four major categories (Comanche, Yuta, general Apache and Navajo) were tabulated according to the location of the event they recorded, omitting entries that recorded events "in Navajo country," "on the plains" and similarly vague locations.

It was anticipated that these tabulations would give indications of demographic changes for the two tribes included and perhaps aid in the tribal identification of the general Apaches, the Yuta category serving as a control. The time periods utilized were not equal, but for the Yuta, Comanche and general Apachean categories were divided arbitrarily into periods that would give adequate numbers for significant results. The division for the Navajo tabulation was based upon periods felt to possess some historical unity in Navajo-White relations, again, in the earliest period, taking an unusually long period in order to have a sample large enough to possess some significance.

The Yuta category includes all Utes and Paiutes. Throughout the period considered here they were always

north of New Mexico and this seems to be clearly reflected in the primary entries mentioning these people (see Table 3). In all periods the greatest number of entries appeared in the parishes north of Santa Fe. In general the areas with the next highest numbers tended to be toward the north, and the moderate numbers in the south doubtless are the result of trade in captives. The control group would seem, therefore, to indicate that the distribution of primary entries may be of value to show demographic changes.

The southward expansion of the Comanches into the plains during the 18th century is well documented, and the tabulation of the primary entries for that tribe should reflect the event. Table 4 shows the distribution of these entries. all periods the greatest number appears again in the northern parishes. The southward trend of secondary peaks through time is but a dim reflection of the Comanche expansion and it is apparent that factors other than the tribal demography may have influenced the distributions of the primary entries. The church records used are the result of interactions between the New Mexicans and the free tribes, so that it seems logical to consider the New Mexicans as the source of other factors. The first regional factor within New Mexico that comes to mind is obviously the famous trade fair held regularly at Taos, where captives were among the major items of commerce. theory that this was a major factor in the distribution of the primary entries is supported by the fact that the northern entries contain a higher proportion of baptisms of Indians, while those in the south a high proportion of burials of people killed by Indians. The easterly orientation of the distribution is readily apparent, but not as strongly marked as expected.

The general Apachean entries, those for all Athabaskans not identifiable as Navajo, also show a strong tendency to concentrate in the north, with the northern-most area leading in the numbers in four periods and second in numbers in the remaining two periods (Table 6). One of the highest ranking locations is Santa Fe for the period 1751-75, still toward the north. There is a definite tendency for a geographical dichotomy, with a relatively high number of entries in the south and the lowest numbers in the central portions of New Mexico. This dichotomy becomes more marked in the later periods, the 1801-25 period having the area south of Albuquerque in the second rank and in the 1826-75 period the far south attained first rank. The tendency to shift southward doubt-

less correlates with the expansion of the Shoshonean Utes and Comanches and the decline of the northern Apacheans as a result. The dichotomy itself is probably due to two factors; the Comanche spread separating the northern and southern Apacheans on the east, and the increasing tendency to specify Navajo when Apacheans of that tribe were the subjects of writing. "Apache" entries attain second rank in the west only in the earliest period, 1700-25, and it is highly probable that many of these early entries referred to Navajos. From that time until 1800 they decrease regularly in the west. The increase in the west in the 1801-25 period may be a result of Jicarillas moving westward or merely a number of non-specific Navajo entries.

By far the most interesting tabulation is that for the Navajos (Table 5). Navajo history is sufficiently well documented to allow the selection of dates for the division of periods that had particular significance. In addition, the slave markets of Taos did not dominate the pattern to any substantial degree until the end of the sequence.

The first period, 1700-45, is the era of the prominence of the Dinetah in the northeastern part of Navajo country, as a cultural center for the Navajos. As such, both archaeological and historical sources have given great attention to the area, and a strong northerly orientation would be expected in the distribution of the primary entries. Such is not the case, and the first rank is clearly in the central area. There is a strong indication in these figures that in spite of the spectacular nature of cultural developments in the Dinetah during this period it was not the center of the greatest Navajo population.

The second period selected was 1746-73, which begins with the relative successes of the abortive Navajo missions at Cebolleta and Encinal and continues to the end of the long period of peace between Navajos and whites. The distribution clearly shows the southward migration of the Dinetah residents, but the relatively high figure for the central area gives added weight to the demographic indications of the previous period.

The last era of Navajo-white wars has been divided into four periods of unequal length. The first, 1774-1803, was a period in which the wars were relatively infrequent and separated by long periods of peace. The distributional

pattern is similar to that of the preceding period except that the north rose to second rank, a slight change that may be attributed to the slave trade in that quarter.

The following period, 1804-32, may be characterized as a time of more frequent and bitter wars, during which the Navajos first became an important source of captives to the New Mexicans. There is a definite southward shift. Outside of the concentration in the south the distribution is remarkably even. The second rank for Santa Fe may reflect the success of the presidial company stationed there and its share of captives taken on campaign, as well as some patronizing of the slave traders not far to the north.

The period from 1833-1859 is one during which war was a far more common condition than peace. None-the-less, the distribution of primary entries is in the far south, and the north's share of Navajo captives was quite limited. During both this period and the preceding one the Taos center was receiving large numbers of Yutas, and the southern parishes seem to have developed their own slave trade internally. Also notable during these two periods is the number of Navajo entries in the east where new settlements were growing.

The final period of warfare, 1860 to June 1868, was one of almost continuous hostilities. As a result of Mormon efforts to stop the slave trade in Utah, the northern slave raiders, both white and Ute, took quick advantage of the wars to supply the expanding northern slave markets by raids on the Navajos. This is the only period during which the northern slave trade is the dominating factor in the distribution. The south was still an area of numerous Navajo contacts and held second rank. The unusually high figure for the east may be merely a result of slaves traded in that direction, but its proximity to Fort Sumner suggests that Navajos who strayed from their place of exile were not ignored by the slave raiders. Only during this period does the total for the east exceed that for the west.

The last period, July 1868 to 1875 is one of peace. Most of the entries were probably due to the baptism of captives held since the preceding period, but the high number for the west includes a number of converts made on the Rio Puerco of the East.

In summary, the geographical distributions of the pri-

mary entries give some evidence concerning the geographic distributions of the peoples represented, but factors within New Mexican culture must also be taken into account. The trade fairs at Taos tended to concentrate captives sold as slaves in the north, and in all but the Navajo series this factor was a major influence in all periods. Even in the Navajo series this factor is evident, but it does not dominate the distributional trends until after 1860. The transporting of captives to areas distant from their place of acquisition prior to baptism does not appear to have been a major factor, although it was obviously the cause of a few of the locations noted, and because of this factor relatively small numbers of entries in an area cannot be considered particularly significant. Periods of settlement and development in the various areas, particularly the north, east and south, may be reflected in the figures to a limited degree. The effects of the military organization of New Mexico and the activity of the Santa Fe presidial company were probably other factors.

The northern location of the Utes and Paiutes plus the northern orientation of the slave trade results in a consistent distribution for the Yuta category. The southward expansion and easterly location of the Comanches is reflected, but the pattern of the slave trade is more marked than the demography of the tribe in the distribution of primary entries. In the general Apache category a north-south dichotomy developed, the northern slave trade again being the dominant factor, but the displacement of the Plains Apaches by the Comanches and the increasing differentiation of the Navajos being apparent factors. In the Navajo series a southward expansion is also evident, but a more widely dispersed population than is generally thought is also indicated, with the northern slave trade a lesser factor until the latest periods.

	1700- 1750	1751- 1775	1776- 1800	1801- 1825	1826- 1850	1851- 1875
North of Santa Fe	15	8	40	186	226	70
Santa Fe	1	7	1	53	29	8
Eastern	_	1		1	7	8
Between Santa Fe and Albuquerque	3	-	4	46	(31)	3
Albuquerque	(5)	2		5	13	3
West of Albuquerque	1	_		2	1	2
South of Albuquerque	<u> </u>	5		21	19	6

Table 3. Distribution of primary Yuta entries through time, with the first ranking area for each period encircled twice and second ranking areas encircled once. A northern orientation prevails throughout.

	1700- 1750	1751- 1775	1776- 1800	1801- 1875
North of Santa Fe	(19)	(45)	(76)	(11)
Santa Fe		33	(34)	3
Eastern	(15)	9	7	8
Between Santa Fe and Albuquerque	3	(40)	15	1
Albuquerque	_	7	8	_
West of Albuquerque		_		
South of Albuquerque		11	28	3

Table 4. Distribution of Comanche primary entries through time, ranking by period indicated as above. The southward trend and easterly orientation are somewhat blurred by the slave trade in the north.

	1700- 1745	1746- 1773	1774- 1803	1804- 1832		1860- Jun 1868	Post- Ft. Sumner
North of Santa Fe	(9)	15	(11)	46	34	41 3	(24)
Santa Fe		1	3	(65)	16	16	3
Eastern area	· · · ·			23	9	89	13
Between Santa Fe and Albuquerque	(19)	(27)	8	54	13	88	4
Albuquerque	1	-	3	23	(42)	64	11
West of Albuquerque	4	(136)	(63)	55	28	16	(24)
South of Albuquerque	1	4	2	(115)	(81	(103)	9

Table 5. Distribution of primary Navajo entries through time. The highest number for each period is encircled twice and the second highest once. A southward trend is not obscured until after 1860, as is also true of the westerly orientation.

4 100 100	1700- 1725	1726- 1750	1751- 1775	1776- 1800	1801- 1825	1826- 1875
North of Santa Fe	46	242	53	29	31	29
Santa Fe	1	4	81	23	19	3
Eastern		17	4	4	8	5
Between Santa Fe and Albuquerque	22	50	15	19	8	1
Albuquerque	21	(118)	16	21	1	2
West of Albuquerque	(23)	16	10	13	11	3
South of Albuquerque	-	114	(47)	20	(22)	(44)

Table 6. Distribution of Apachean primary entries, exclusive of Navajo, through time, ranking by period indicated as above. The multiplicity of tribes and dominating influence of the northern slave trade obscure trends, but a north-south dichotomy seems to develop, being particularly clear toward the end of the sequence.

Chapter IV

Primary Navajo Records

Navajo baptisms fall into two broad classes which might be categorized as "voluntary" and "involuntary" conversions. The two are not always clearly distinguishable in individual entries, but most may be placed in one or the other with little chance of error. Those here considered voluntary include baptisms of persons at their own request or at their parents' request if the only motivating forces on the part of the Christians are applied through persuasion. Also included, but somewhat different in nature, are baptisms of individuals near death who requested baptism. Involuntary conversions refer to the baptisms of all people who were separated from their own people, by whatever means, and therefore subject to all the influences and pressures of living in an alien society.

The early 18th century was a period of warfare between the Navajos and the Spaniards. The Navajos had taken an active part in helping the Pueblos resist the Reconquest by Don Diego de Vargas (Reeve, 1958, pp. 205-13) and had received refugees from the Pueblos when that resistance failed.

Warfare between the Spaniards and the Navajos during the early part of the 18th century was probably a continuation of the Pueblo Revolt on the part of the Navajos and the Pueblo refugees who were among them. Few captives of this period are definitely identifiable as Navajo in the baptismal records. Some of the "Apaches" baptized may well have been Navajo. Government correspondence does not reveal the taking of Navajo captives until 1705 (Reeve, 1958, p. 216), although there were earlier campaigns against the tribe following the Reconquest (Ibid., Thomas, 1935, p. 22). The number of captives taken in 1705 is not given. The baptismal records indicate three baptisms toward the end of August that were doubtless the direct result of the second campaign of 1705. This campaign returned by way of Zia (Reeve, 1958, p. 216) and two Navajo children were baptized at Zia, a four-year-old girl on August 21 and a boy on August 29. Another girl was baptized at Jemez on August 23 who was described as the daughter of an Apache father and of Catharina Ursula of Jemez who "came from Navajo."

There were a number of campaigns in 1708-09, but no definite reports as to captives taken. (Reeve, 1958, pp. 221-22). The next mention of the Navajos in the baptismal records is dated April 29, 1708, and is the record of the baptism at Jemez of Micaela, the natural daughter of Maria Cuchee Neva, a Jemez woman "who came this same year fleeing the captivity in which she was among the Gentile Navajos." Whether she had been taken captive in a raid or was a refugee being held captive is not explained, but these two entries leave little doubt that there were Jemez among the Navajos at this time.

There were also Tewas, apparently. On June 2, 1709, three children, all under four years, were baptized at Nambe. Their mother was Juana, a "Tigua" (sic) from Pojoaque, but they had been "brought from Nabaxo." Two other children of the same mother, probably older brothers, were baptized at Nambe October 7. No mention of the fathers of any of these children was made in the baptismal entries and it is to be presumed that they were not baptized. If so, both the children baptized at Jemez and those baptized at Nambe were almost certainly half Navajo.

Reeve mentions a Navajo attack upon Jemez on June 8, 1709 which was so successful that the Navajos sacked some of the houses and the church, but he does not record any fatalities (Reeve, 1958, p. 225). The burial records for Jemez record the burials of six Jemez Indians on that date, all stated to have been killed by "the Apaches;" without a doubt the "Apaches de Navajó" were intended. The dead were a married couple and four children. As the proportion of non-combatants (i.e., women and children) killed in Navajo attacks is extremely small in general, this attack may have involved Pueblo refugees as well as Navajos.

In January 1710 three Indians whose parents were an "Apache" father and a Keres mother were baptized together at Zia. The record states that "they came from Nabaxo." All were estimated to have been about 20 years old. If they had been brought back by one of the campaigns of 1708-09, the time lapse would be about right for them to have been catechized.

The last record of warfare for this early period is in 1716 (Reeve, 1958, p. 229), and a long period of peace between Navajos and Spaniards began by 1720. There are no primary

entries referring to Navajos during the beginning of this period. On May 30, 1731, two children were baptized at Nambe. It was recorded that they and their mother came from Navajo and lived at Pojoaque. On July 1 another boy from Navajo, the son of gentile parents and resident at Pojoaque, was baptized at Nambe. He had been catechized and instructed and may have been an older brother of the first two children. The bitterness of the Revolt and Reconquest had apparently died down and some refugees were willing to return to their homes.

In October of the same year the burial records contain a rather puzzling entry which recorded the burial of three Zunis who "died in Navajo at the hands of the Apaches". This is the only hint of trouble during these years and perhaps these Zunis were caught by an attack upon the Navajos by another Apachean tribe.

In March 1733, Juana, "daughter of Navajo parents," was baptized at San Ildefonso. No explanation of this baptism was given, but there is no evidence that she was a captive. In May a fourteen-year-old Navajo boy contracted small-pox while in Albuquerque. He asked for baptism, which was granted him. He died and was buried by the priest on the 27th of the month. This is the earliest record located of a new trend. Occasional Navajos began to request baptism as a last resort when ill.

In 1737 there were at least two Navajo baptisms recorded. The first record, dated April 1, merely states that Magdalena, daughter of gentile parents of the nation of "Apache de Navajo," was baptized at Jemez, with no hint as to the circumstances leading to her conversion. The second, dated November 25 in the Isleta burial records, indicates that a Navajo "adulta" given the name of Barbara and was baptized due to "extreme necessity," phraseology used to indicate severe illness. She died and was buried on the same date.

The number of Navajo baptisms continued to increase slightly and in 1738 three were performed. A Navajo "Apachita" was baptized at Cochiti on January 2. She was the daughter of "infidel parents," but no explanation of her conversion was given. On February 20 a Navajo boy about a year old was buried at Zia, having been baptized due to necessity. On April 26 a Navajo "adulta" asked for baptism at Cochiti. She was promptly catechized and died within half an hour.

For 1739 only one Navajo baptism was found, at Cochiti on January 1, and the reasons for baptism were not given. Cochiti continued to be a favorite resort for Navajos seeking baptism, however. In the following year, on September 18, a Navajo girl was baptized there at the request of her parents, again a case of necessity. According to the priest the parents wanted their daughter to "die Christian," which she did within a few hours, but the priest's understanding of the parents' motives may have been far from clear. We cannot be sure whether these last minute converts were seeking salvation of their souls or hoping that the white man's medicine man would be able to accomplish what native cures had failed to do. It might further be noted that having been baptized, the obligation to bury the deceased, now a Christian, passed from the family to the Christians and the priests seem to have exhibited no reluctance to undertake this obligation as an act of charity.

These friendly relations were eventually to appear profitable in the eyes of the missionaries. By 1744, it was reported, pagans visiting both Jemez and Zia were catechized by the priests at those places (Reeve, 1959, p. 10). There is no record of baptisms resulting directly from this activity, but the willingness of the Navajos to listen to the priests led them to initiate more active work. Two priests, Fray Carlos Delgado and Fray José Yrigoyen, visited Navajo country in the same year (Reeve, 1959, pp. 12-13). It might be noted here that during this same period, from 1734 to 1745, the Jicarillas showed a similar interest in baptism and of a number of baptisms of Jicarillas that were performed at Pecos, at least five were due to danger of imminent death. Pueblo refugees among both tribes probably brought with them some degree of belief in the efficacy of baptism.

The following year Delgado and Yrigoyen returned to Navajo country with another priest, Fray Pedro Ygnacio del Pino. While there they baptized seven Navajos. (Reeve, 1959, pp. 15-16). Five were young boys and all were named "Juan". Two "adults," both being catechized, were named Antonio and Maria. Fray Carlos recorded these baptisms in the Isleta records on May 25, following his return. These baptisms were performed at a Navajo "pueblo" called in Spanish "los Collotes" (Reeve, 1959, p. 15). This was undoubtedly one of the pueblitos in the Dinetah. Menchero's map, dated two years later, illustrates pueblitos in this area. (Menchero, 1747, map in Library of Congress; see also Wheat, Mapping

the Trans-Mississippi West, Vol. I.) The name applied means literally "The Coyotes", but might also be translated as "the Halfbreeds". The second name might well have been applied to any settlement with a mixed Navajo-refugee population, but if so would have to be considered strictly Spanish in origin. If the name were a partial translation of a Navajo name, however, it may be of even greater specificity. That some of the refugees in the Dinetah were of Jemez origin has long been recognized and the Navajo clan claiming descent from Jemez has a name that can best be translated as "Coyote Pass People." That some of these pueblitos might have borne clan names is further suggested by the fact that another was named "Pueblo Españoles" after two female Spanish captives taken during the Pueblo Revolt. (See Reeve, 1959, pp. 16-17 and n. 17.)

More visits were made to the Navajo country, as the priests were well received and more baptisms were performed, We have not found the baptismal entries for these, but Reeve mentions eight children baptized at Pueblo Españoles and another 27 at Cebolleta by Fray Juan Miguel Menchero in (Reeve, 1959, pp. 16-18.) Other baptisms followed for which records in the extant baptismal books have not been found: one in 1746 (Reeve, 1959, pp. 17-18) and 132 in 1748 after some Navajos had been settled in two missions at the base of Mount Taylor (Reeve, 1959, pp. 21, 25-26). Only a small part of the tribe was at these missions, however, and the books give records of baptisms at other places as well. On December 8 a 20-year-old Navajo "crioya" and a ten-year-old boy, both children of pagan parents, were baptized at Jemez. In the meantime the Navajos had abandoned the missions (Reeve, 1959, pp. 27-28).

In spite of this rejection of mission life, the Navajos and Spaniards continued to be friendly, and there were occasional baptisms of Navajos performed in neighboring pueblos. On August 6, 1750, a Navajo was baptized at Zia and given what for him was probably a tongue-twister of a name, Manuel de San Juan Nepomuzeno. At Jemez there was a baptism on January 3, 1753, of Mariano, from Navajo, 20 years old and the son of Bentura, apparently a Jemez woman, and an "Apache". This was followed three days later by the baptism of four children from Navajo and the next day an eight-year-old boy, "native of Navajo," was baptized. On February 21 another eight natives of Navajo were baptized at the same place. The godparents of all but the first were

Jemez Indians. It is tempting to speculate that these were all descendants of Jemez refugees who had fled to the Navajos 50 or 60 years earlier, and they may well have been. In the same year four Navajo children were baptized at San Ildefonso in February and May, and there is a final entry for the year recording the baptism of a Navajo child at Santa Fe on September 9. None of these records mention how these people came to accept baptism.

In 1755, Lorenza, "de Nazion Apache Nabajo," was baptized at San Juan on August 10. No explanation was given, but the old pattern was continuing. On July 3, 1756, a Navajo girl was brought to Isleta by her parents. She was very sick and they asked that she be baptized. This was done and she died about four hours later. Fully voluntary converts were baptized during this period also, however. An entire Navajo family, father, mother and three children, was baptized at Jemez on December 5 and 6 and the marriage by "natural law" was continued with a church marriage.

In 1757 there were at least three baptisms of sick Navajos, all of whom died; one at Zia on May 16, and two at Isleta; the first on July 5 and the second on August 10: Of particular interest is the notation in the July 5 entry that the baptism was performed under the condition that if the sick child should recover she was to remain with the Christians.

In spite of the general good relations between the Navajos and New Mexican Spaniards during this period, there seem to have been Navajo servants who sometimes found their way into Spanish hands, probably taken captive by other tribes and sold distant from Navajo country, as was doubtless the case with Antonia Josepha, a Navajo baptized at Janos, Chihuahua in 1758 (Janos Archives MF 35 (33-1t), El Paso Centennial Museum, El Paso, Texas).

The Jemez records include another Navajo baptism on December 22, 1759 and three more on February 18, 1760. In spite of the nearness of Navajos to Laguna and the occasional Navajo baptisms to the southeast at Isleta, none were found in the Laguna records until February 23, 1762, when two Navajo females, both listed as "adulta," received baptism there. The priest added that they may have been baptized previously by Menchero at Cebolleta. In the following year the baptisms located were all from northern parishes. A

five-year-old Navajo boy was baptized at Chama in the Santa Clara Parish on June 10. A nine-year-old girl received the same rite at San Ildefonso on October 4. Finally, a nine-year-old girl was baptized at Chama. She was listed as a servant of Don Juan Prado. The acquisition of Navajo captives by New Mexicans appears to have begun again. There is no evidence that these captives were being taken in raids by the Spanish-Americans, but the long period of peace was nearing an end, and the appearance of Navajos as servants in the baptismal records may be an indication of deteriorating relations well before actual warfare broke out.

In 1770, on June 13, the Laguna books record the baptism of an 80-year-old Navajo woman who was near death. Her god-parents were Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco and his wife, Doña María Estefana Domingues.

A Navajo named Juana was baptized at Santa Clara on January 13, 1771. This is the last record of a Navajo baptism before warfare was again a part of Spanish-Navajo relations, and nothing indicates her status as a Christian. There is a burial record for July 14, 1772, however, of a Navajo servant who died in Albuquerque at the age of 22. She was obviously not old enough to have been taken captive during the earlier period of warfare. It is probable that the Utes were supplying Navajo captives to the New Mexicans during these last years of peace. This might help to explain in part the manner in which the war began, for the first recorded hostilities were on the part of the Utes at the urging of the governor of New Mexico. The Spaniards were to remain neutral, and the Ute attacks resulted in the deaths of many Navajos and the capture of five Navajo boys (Reeve, 1960, p. 219). The reasons for the governor's fomenting of war was probably to be found in land conflicts between the Spaniards and the Navajos in the area of the Rio Puerco of the East, where many white settlers had acquired land grants. (Reeve, 1959, pp. 29-38.)

The Navajos soon learned where the blame lay and drove the white settlers from their lands in 1774. (Reeve, 1959, pp. 39-40; Reeve, 1960, pp. 206-10.) The burial records tell little about the Navajo successes. According to government archives they had killed at least eleven people by November 1774 (Reeve, 1960, p. 207), but the burial entries have not been found. There is a record of one baptism of a Navajo child at Laguna on June 12, probably about at the

beginning of the war. A small Navajo boy was baptized in Santa Fe when he took sick and he was buried there on September 9. On November 20 two "Apaches de la Nacion Nabajo" were baptized at San Juan. There can be little doubt that these last three, at least, were captives, even though the record does not so state. On January 1, 1775, a two-year-old Navajo girl who was baptized at Nambé was described as the servant of Manuel Ortega of Cuyamungue, who had purchased her from the Utes. On January 14, a Navajo was baptized at Santa Clara, on January 23 another was baptized at San Juan, and on February 2 another at Santa Fe. The northerly location of all of these suggests that the Utes brought them in. There were unexplained complexities in the situation, however. On February 11 a 56-year-old Navajo woman was baptized at Nambé, having been catechized first. On the same day she married Pedro des Gordos, a Navajo who was already a Christian and a resident of Nambé. This was in the midst of the war. A Navajo was baptized at Laguna on April 17, again with no information recorded as to his status. In spite of the war, there were converts. Early in the year two families of Navajos, totaling thirteen people, had settled at Zuni as converts. (Reeve, 1960, p. 213, n. 35.) They were baptized on February 19 and 20. first family consisted of Ramón, the father, Jacinta, the mother, both about 30 years old, and four daughters, Francisca, aged about nine or ten years, Polonia, about seven or eight years, Vicenta, about four years, and Juana, a small child. The parents of the other family were Silvestre, also about 30 years old, and Catharina, said to have been already a Christian. She had apparently been baptized at some time during the mission effort of the preceding era of peace, but, if so, the record of her baptism is among those that are lost. After Silvestre was baptized, Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, who was then the priest at Zuni, performed a church marriage ceremony for the couple. They had five children, Antonia, fifteen, Juan Diego, eight, Augustín, six or seven, Francisco, five, and Antonio, a small child. In addition to these two families, a number of other Navajos were baptized at Zuni at the same time. A young woman, given the name of María de Guadalupe, and her young daughter were baptized. She was listed as unmarried. Four Navajo children whose parents were presumed dead or lost in the war were also baptized. One was an eight-year-old boy "in the power of" Lorenzo, the Zuni Indian Lieutenant of Captain Juan Lopez. The other three were sisters, two "in the absolute power of" Juana, wife of Vicente, the sacristan, and the other "in the

absolute power of "Balthasar, "Theniente actual de campo". As all were baptized at the same time, it is probable that they all arrived at Zuni together, perhaps the remnants of a band of Navajos who had been defeated by Spanish troops. They stayed at Zuni for a while, at least, for about a year later Francisca, the daughter of Ramon and Jacinta, married a Zuni named Esteban Quiaicitilunguia, On April 5 another Navajo boy was baptized at Zuni, said to have been purchased from his parents. Perhaps the most puzzling record of all is that for June 19 at Laguna, where 30 Navajo children were baptized. According to the entry God "brought their parents and relatives voluntarily to the fold of Our Holy Mother Church." Perhaps some groups of Navajos sought this way of withdrawing from the war. The Navajos had not given up, however, and in August they killed two Indians, who were buried at San Juan. Formal peace negotiations did not begin until September when two Navajo headmen came to Laguna and then to Santa Fe. The Spaniards and Navajos exchanged two captives each as a sign of their good faith (Reeve, 1960, pp. 213-14.) and peace was established.

The old pattern of relationships was resumed. In October 1775 two children of Josepha, an "apostate," and a pagan father were baptized at Jemez. On December 11, two sick Navajo children were brought to Jemez by their parents for baptism. Apparently the condition that a baptized child who recovered should remain among the Christians had been put into general effect. At least the parents took no chances and the priest complained that he did not have time to anoint the children with the holy oils because their parents carried them off. This suggests that hope for a cure was the primary motive of the Navajos when requesting baptism under these conditions.

In 1776 there were a number of Navajo baptisms. Early in the year there is little revealed as to the reasons, such as one at Isleta on January 27, one at Laguna on February 16 and another at Isleta on April 26. A Navajo boy baptized on May 19 was said to have been purchased from his parents by a Laguna Indian. This may have been a family left destitute by the war. A similar circumstance is suggested by the baptism of another Navajo boy at Laguna on July 24, described as under the tutelage of another Laguna Indian. In November a four-year-old Navajo girl was baptized at Sandia. She had been purchased by a Sandia Indian, but from whom was not recorded. In December another Navajo was baptized at Laguna,

but nothing indicating the circumstances appears in the book. Some of these Navajos may have been captives obtained in the war.

Baptisms of Navajos through the remainder of the 1770's continued to be of various types. Two recorded at Albuquerque in the spring of 1777 were definitely of servants. Another at the same place on August 19 was of a 70-year-old woman who was near death, and she was buried two days later. A baptism in the Sandia Parish on March 8, 1778, was probably of a captive, but definite information is lacking. On June 3, however, a three-year-old Navajo girl baptized at Laguna was said to have been raised by a Laguna woman from the time she was three months old, which would place the date of her acquisition during the time of the war. Two baptisms in 1779, one at Santa Cruz in April and another at Albuquerque in August, seem to have been of captives, the last one without doubt, as the entry mentioned "her master."

Navajo-Spanish relations had not returned fully to the good terms of mid-century, and voluntary conversions of Navajos planning to live as Christians had ceased. Throughout the rest of the century and into the early years of the 1800's all Navajo baptisms were either of servants, were unidentified or were of people near death. The number is not great for this period. In 1780 three Navajo servants were baptized; one at Jemez in May, one at Santa Fe in August, and one at Sandia in October. There was a small-pox epidemic in 1781, but only one Navajo baptism as a result was recorded, this at Laguna in February. No more Navajos appear until March of 1784 when a two-year-old boy was baptized at San Juan. Two Navajo servants were baptized at Laguna in September 1788. A Navajo child was baptized at Laguna in May 1802.

The uneasy peace of this period did not develop into a firm relationship, but shortly before warfare began again, one more Navajo asked for baptism at Jemez, the request being made through an interpreter. He was baptized and died on the same day, February 4, 1804.

In the meantime the Navajos were concerned about halting a new Spanish expansion to the west. The controversy centered about a Spanish settlement established at Cebolleta in 1800. (Brugge, 1965, p. 3; NMSRCA, SA 1902.) When all else had failed, the Navajos declared war in April

1804 to drive out the settlers. The official reports tell more about their initial successes than do the burial records. According to Governor Chacon's "Diary of Events", the Navajos killed four sheepherders at Ojo del Espiritu Santo, an unspecified number of sheepherders at Nacimiento (present-day Cuba) and three people at Cebolleta in these early attacks (NMSRCA, SA1730). Only the three killed at Cebolleta, who were buried at Laguna, were identified in the church records. Later Navajo victories are better documented in the burial books, however. In June they killed four people in "el paraje del valle", probably the Valle Grande, who were buried at Cochiti on the 15th. One was a Cochiti Indian, but the other three appear to have been Spaniards from nearby settlements.

The Utes and Jicarillas had allied themselves with the Spaniards in the war (NMSRCA, SA1730). In an attack near Santa Clara the Navajos found a Ute camp. They wounded a Ute woman and her daughter, who were rescued by the Spaniards. Both asked for baptism. One of the Spaniards performed the baptismal ceremony for the girl, and when she died the priest buried her in the transept of the mission church at Santa Clara, the burial taking place on July 2. On July 4, a Spaniard who had been killed by the Navajos, probably in the same attack, was buried at Santa Clara, although he was a resident of San Juan.

The Navajos' main concern was further south, and most of their attacks were directed against the more southerly towns. In August a force of 900 to 1,000 warriors made another effort to dislodge the Cebolleta settlement. (NMSRCA, SA1754.) The burial records for Laguna contain entries for four people buried on August 4, all killed in "the invasion of the Navajo gentiles", including one Indian and Don José Manuel Benavides, who was 1st Corporal of the presidial company from Santa Fe. The Navajos were suffering even more severe losses themselves, at least according to the reports of the Spanish military (NMSRCA, SA1754), but continued their offensive. In September they killed two Laguna Indians, who were buried at their pueblo on the 21st, and a Spanish resident of La Cañada, who was buried at Cochiti on the 25th. Narbona's famous victory in Canyon de Chelly in January 1805 (NMSRCA, SA1792) resulted in the initiation of treaty negotiations, but the Navajos struck one last blow in February when they killed two Spaniards near Albuquerque. The attackers were probably from a remote band that had not yet heard about the truce.

The captives taken during this war were to be a major source of contention during efforts to re-establish peace. At least 51 captives were taken in the Spanish campaigns and some were given to the Sonoran troops brought north by Narbona. (NMSRCA, SA#1748, 1754, 1778 and 1792). Governor Chacon, in listing the conditions that he considered proper for making peace, wrote:

The two captives that are found in the power of the Navajos will be exchanged for two female Indians of the same Nation that are, one in the house of Don Antonio de Bargas, and the other that the soldier Vicente Villanueba has, and in case more should be necessary, there are in the Place of Abiquiu, one in the house of Father Fray Josef de la Prada and another in the power of the Citizen Gabriel Quintana, which they ransomed from the power of the Utes with the condition that if there was need to appropriate them or they wished to return to their people after making peace, they would free them. (NMSRCA, SA# 1801)

Baptisms of Navajo children held as servants had already begun. A four-year-old was baptized at Belen on February 9 and a three-year-old girl at Santa Cruz on March 14. Nearly a dozen "Apache" baptisms appear in the baptismal records of Arispe, Sonora, and these were doubtless Navajo captives taken by Narbona's Sonoran troops. (Bailey, 1966, 79-80.) In April the Navajos demanded a complete exchange of prisoners. (NMSRCA, SA#1810.) A treaty was completed on May 12 and among other provisions were the following:

- (2) that they shall restore to us the two children that they handed over to me, and any other captives which are found in their power....
- (5) and there are handed over to them, as have been handed over to them, the captain called Segundo and 16 other prisoners more that existed in San Elizario, and that in case of there being other prisoners among them or among us they will be handed over reciprocally....

It is unlikely that Governor Alencaster, who had replaced Chacon in the midst of the treaty negotiations, made the above

agreement in bad faith. He was probably unaware of the many Navajo captives held in various towns in the province, not to mention those in Sonora.

In June two Navajo girls held as servants by members of the Santa Fe Presidial Company were baptized in the military chapel at Santa Fe. Others for which the records of baptism have not been located were also baptized. The Navajos learned of the locations of three girls and asked that they be returned. A hearing was held on August 22 to decide whether this would be proper. Two of the girls, Barbara and María Micaela, had already been baptized and it was concluded that they must be kept among the Christians even though they had no understanding of the ceremony. The third, María Concepción, had not yet been baptized and could be returned to her people. (NMSRCA, SA#1877).

In September a five-day-old Navajo girl was baptized at Belen. The godparents, residents of "the third plaza of Los Chaves" stated that the child had been abandoned at their home.

In May two daughters of a gentile father and a Zuni mother, who were born in Navajo, were baptized at Zuni. Teresa, 20 years old, was the daughter of Antonia, then deceased. Madalena, baptized the next day, was only six years old and her mother also was deceased. The records do not definitely identify these two as sisters, but the circumstances are so similar and the dates of baptism so close that this is the logical assumption. Their "gentile father" was certainly a Navajo. Both the Navajos and Zunis are matrilineal and the decision to settle at Zuni, where they would have had relatives on their mother's side, would not have been an unusual choice following their mother's death.

In the following years of uneasy peace there were a few unexplained baptisms. Maria Loreta was baptized at Zuni on October 5, 1809, her godfather being a resident of el Cañon. On December 12, 1810, Juana Getrudis was baptized at Belen, her godparents being Spanish residents of that town. On January 12, 1811, Antonio García, the official interpreter in dealings with the Navajo Tribe, had a Navajo girl baptized. Her parents were listed as "unknown". The baptism was performed at Jemez, but García was a resident of el Cañon. Then there are several years during which no Navajos are mentioned in these records.

War broke out between Spain and the Navajos again in 1818. The causes of the conflict are obscure. Hostilities began toward the end of June (Twitchell, Vol. II, p. 604), but the first deaths attributed to the Navajos appear in the burial books in July. A Spanish resident of the Cochiti Jurisdiction was killed near Sandia, where he was buried on July 6. The next burial service was held at Albuquerque for Francisco Gallego, a resident of Los Candelarias, on July 7. Only his bones were buried, so that it is obvious that he had been killed some time previously, perhaps at a remote sheep camp. Two more Spaniards were buried at Sandia on the 8th. Navajo warriors were also active in the area around Abiquiu (NMSRCA, SA#2736) and the "gentiles" who killed a Spaniard at the source of the Rio del Ojo Caliente were probably Navajos. He was buried on July 19 at San Juan.

On September 1 six Spaniards, residents of Cebolleta, Atrisco, Tome, Belen, Sabinal and La Joya, were buried at Laguna, all having been killed by the Navajos. The scattered residences suggest that they were a part of the militia called up to help fight the war, but whether killed while on campaign or on guard duty is not known. On September 9 two men, one a resident of Belen and the other of Los Garcías, were buried at Belen, both killed by "los Apaches Nabajos". On the 26th two more burial services were performed at Laguna, both for men, residents of Atrisco, who were killed by the Navajos.

The Navajos' success brought them help and on October 4, the burial of a Bosque Grande resident at Picurís was the result of an attack by "the Navajos together with the Apaches" at Mora. In the same month Governor Melgares led a relatively unsuccessful expedition into Navajo country. While he was in the field a soldier of the Santa Fe Company died as a result of wounds inflicted by the Navajos. He was buried at Laguna on November 4. The expedition returned in December, having killed seven Navajos and captured two, but having had seven men wounded and lost time unsuccessfully besieging a Navajo stronghold on a high mesa. (Estado 33, (Mexico 14), Archivo General de Indios, Sevilla Spain; Chapman 6180 (duplicate), p. 39, Bancroft Library, Berkeley).

The Navajos resumed the offensive in 1819 and killed a Laguna Indian who was buried at Laguna on January 9. This prompted the Spaniards to send out another expedition in the same month. (Estado 33 (Mexico 14), Archivo General de los Indios, Sevilla, Spain; Chapman, 6193, p. 17, Berkeley). The

Navajos continued their attacks that month, however, as is shown by burial records for two Spaniards at Laguna about March 4, for two residents of Alameda at Albuquerque on March 8, and two more for Atrisco residents at Albuquerque on March 14 and 15. The spring campaign was more effective, killing 36 Navajos and capturing 20, and the Navajos sued for peace, which the Spaniards were quite willing to concede. (Estado 33 (Mexico 14), Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; Chapman 6183, pp. 5-7 and 6198, pp. 2-3, Bancroft Library, Berkeley).

Only one Navajo girl has been definitely identified as baptized as a result of this war: a servant of the chaplain of the Santa Fe Company. She was baptized on April 10, before peace negotiations were well underway. The treaty establishing peace was not signed until August 21 and according to Article 15 all prisoners in Santa Fe were to be returned to the Navajos. (Gaceta Extraordinaria del Gobierno de México, Tomo X, No. 144, p. 1129, 1819).

During the brief peace that followed this treaty at least three Navajos were baptized. On December 28, 1819, a Navajo "adult" was baptized at Laguna, his godparents being residents of the pueblo. In June 1820 a two-day-old Navajo baby was baptized at Sandia, obviously too young to have been taken captive during the war. In January 1821, a Navajo girl purchased by Tomas Sanches was baptized at Belen.

The Treaty of 1819, in spite of its complexity and superficially enlightened policy, merely re-established conditions as they had existed before the war, and these same conditions led to another war in 1821. By the summer of that year, New Mexican campaigners were again invading Navajo country. Although there had been a bit of livestock stolen in the spring, Navajo headmen had worked to repay losses and prevent trouble (NMSRCA, SA#2971), and the exact reasons for the war are not known. No serious Navajo raiding was recorded until the burial of three Laguna Indians on September 16. By this time one campaign had already killed eight Navajo warriors (NMSRCA, Sta Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1801-20, Mariano Alires, Enlisted Aug. 1, 1820), and another was then in the field which killed 21 warriors and took seven prisoners of both sexes before it returned (ibid.). Following this two columns were sent into the field to operate simultaneously against the Navajos. The southern column killed seven Navajos and captured a baby not yet weaned, near Bear Spring (NMSRCA, SA3060), while the northern column,

apparently operating around Sanostee and vicinity, killed 21 Navajos and captured seven. (NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Paper, 1801-1820, Mariano Alire, 1 Aug. 1820).

A truce was made early in December, but the terms of this agreement are not known. There was some increase in baptisms of Navajo captives, however. Two Navajo girls were baptized in the same month in Santa Fe. On December 5 a two-year-old was baptized and was in the house of the priest, Don Francisco Ygnasio de Madariaga. The other, a girl estimated to have been two or three years old, was listed as captive and servant of a soldier and was baptized in the military chapel on December 18.

That the Navajos were dissatisfied with the situation seems certain. The day after the New Mexicans returned to Santa Fe, a Cochiti Indian was buried December 9, having been killed by "los Nabajosos".

The war in 1821 was apparently primarily a New Mexican affair. While Spanish troops repeatedly invaded Navajo country, the Navajo headmen still maintained in December that they did not want to fight (NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, Francisco Alire, 1 Aug. 1820 and others), and there is but limited evidence of Navajo retaliation. The next year was to be a different matter, however. Early in the year a number of Navajo emissaries of peace were treacherously killed at Jemez. (James, 1846, 145-51; Conde to Melgares, June 15, 1822, NMSRCA, MA.)

Sporadic baptisms of Navajos continued. On January 6, 1822, a Navajo boy, five years old, who had been purchased by Juan Francisco Atencio, was baptized at Abiquiu.

The Navajos suddenly ceased efforts to make peace, and retaliated for the invasions of their country with an aggressive series of attacks. Two soldiers of the San Elizario Presidial Company were killed at Valverde and buried at Socorro on February 22. Two New Mexicans killed at the small settlement or ranch of Las Huertas were buried at San Felipe. Three days later a woman who had been wounded by lances at Las Huertas died and was buried at San Felipe. Others also died, but whether as a result of Navajo attacks or other tribes' activities is not certain. Two men who had been killed by "the gentiles" were buried at Taos March 13 and two more killed by "the enemies" were buried at Albuquerque, one on March 16 and one three days later. Melgares sent out

another expedition in March, but it was singularly unsuccessful, capturing only one Navajo too old to run and two or three horses. (Coues, 1898, pp. 123 and 137).

Another Navajo child, a three-year-old boy "ransomed" from the Apaches by Domingo Gallego of Plaza Colorado, was baptized at Abiquiu on April 17. The Apaches who sold the boy were probably Jicarillas.

The Navajos' campaign was increasing in tempo. On April 18 seven men killed by the Navajos were buried at Tomé. One was a resident of Tomé, the rest of <u>visitas</u> of the Tomé church, one from Los Lentes and five from Valencia. The next day two more men from Valencia were buried at Tomé. Next, on April 22, a man was buried at Laguna, from the name apparently a Laguna Indian. On May 5, three residents of Los Enlames were buried at Tomé. All of these were identified as victims of the Navajo war.

In June the Navajos killed a Spanish-American at Mora, who was buried at Picurís on the 23rd. Two Belen residents were buried at Socorro on the same date. The entry does not tell where the Navajos killed them, but they were obviously away from home and probably were caught while on the trail. The burials of one man on July 1 and three more on July 10 at Albuquerque were the result of deaths caused by "the enemies". The successful warriors were probably Navajos. Nine days later not far to the north a San Felipe Indian was buried, having been killed by "the Navajo gentiles". The enemies who killed a man buried at Santa Fe on July 22 are not identified by tribe.

On August 1 burial services were performed at Laguna for a soldier of the Santa Fe Company who had been wounded by the Navajos and escaped. He died of his wounds later, having received the last sacraments. About August 19 the Navajos were in the Tomé area again and two men were buried who failed to escape them. On the 22nd another man, a resident of Valencia, was buried as a result of the same circumstance.

The Navajos, in the space of about six months, made their feelings clearly evident to the New Mexicans, killing at least 27, with nine more deaths very probably being the result of Navajo attacks. There were probably others, as the burial records are far from complete. Melgares ordered another expedition in August (NMSRCA, MA 3034), but no report

of its results have been located. The Navajos were willing to make a treaty in September, however. On September 12 Melgares wrote the terms to which he wanted the Navajos to submit in a peace treaty. They were quite harsh with regard to territory, but did provide for a mutual exchange of prisoners, including any "apostates" that might be among the Navajos. The treaty was finalized on October 29 at Jemez and again Melgares abandoned his territorial demands, but only captives which the Navajos could identify were to be returned. (NMSRCA, MA 3034). This provision did not help the Navajos much, and how many captives were actually returned is uncertain. Large numbers of Navajos were soon baptized, however. On December 23 a Navajo was baptized at Belen. He belonged to a resident of Sabinal, but his age was not given. Two more were baptized in January, a sixyear-old girl who was held as a "servant" by Melgares himself and was baptized in the military chapel, and a five-year-old boy held in a house in the Barrio of Peña Blanca at Santa Fe. An undated entry for the baptism of a six-year-old girl sometime in February or March appears in the Tome book. There were three other baptisms of Navajo children in February, two at Santa Fe and one at San Juan. Again in March a Navajo was baptized at Santa Fe, but he was a member of the household of a resident of El Paso, A Navajo girl five months old was baptized at San Felipe, having been "ransomed" by a Spanish-American . resident of the vicinity. A Navajo girl or woman held at San Juan became sick and the priest, in her burial record dated March 15, 1823, wrote that, "I helped her in the last part of her life with Baptism in the house of José Pablo - 4 Sanches ... ". Baptisms of Navajo children continued in April with one at Tomé on the 6th, two at Belen on the 10th or 11th (but not recorded until July) and one in Albuquerque on the 20th.

In the meantime José Antonio Vizcarra had replaced Melgares as governor and he met with the Navajos at Paguate to negotiate another treaty on February 12. Vizcarra again proposed a mutual exchange of captives, but demanded also all "fugitives" among the Navajos while reserving the right to retain all Navajos who did not wish to go, stating that "if they should wish to receive the beneficial waters of baptism it does not seem proper for Catholics to deny them, but on the contrary to favor them and exhort them to the end that the number of the faithful adorers of the true God of the Christians should be multiplied". He suggested, "That it be proposed to them with energy that they be

converted to the Catholic Religion, resettling themselves in Pueblos that will be founded in the places that might be convenient in order to attain this goal that the faith of Jesus Christ is propagated and that we complete with the perfect attributes of Christians the reduction of an infidel nation to the fold of the Catholic Church". (NMSRCA, MA 183). Thus it is apparent that the use of religious means to gain political ends was still being practiced, as it had been done by the first conquistadores.

The Navajos agreed to an exchange of captives, but found that Vizcarra was not willing to surrender any to the Navajos until "they had met all my /Vizcarra's/ proposals and gave proof of proceeding as they promised." The headmen said that they could not agree to settling in mission pueblos until they discussed it with the entire tribe. (NMSRCA, MA 183). Probably both the New Mexicans and the Navajos knew this to be an impossible demand and this reply to Vizcarra's proposal was merely a polite way of avoiding that issue. At any rate, the headmen did not keep the appointment for the next meeting, set four months later, which would have been in June, but decided to renew the war, probably as a result of consensus by most of the tribe. There is no evidence, however, that Vizcarra made any preparations for setting up missions for the Navajos, which would have been a major undertaking and have required considerable work in obtaining missionaries and lands.

By the end of April the Navajos had decided upon war. The first death recorded was at Taos, of a man who "died at the hands of the gentile enemies" and was buried April 25. It is not certain that the enemies were Navajos in this instance, but there is no doubt concerning attacks that followed shortly. On April 29 six men were buried at Socorro; three were residents of Socorro and three of Las Huertas. On May 3 two men were buried at Belen, one a resident of that town and one from Sausal. Toward the end of the month there was an "atrocious invasion" of Sabinal by Navajo forces, the eight dead Spanish-Americans being buried at Belen on May 31 and June 1.

Vizcarra set forth on June 18 on one of the most ambitious Navajo campaigns of the period, to be gone for over three months on an expedition that would take him north and west of Hopi and which would result in the death of 50 Navajos and the capture of 36, but not without losing nine men of his own. (Brugge, 1964).

Navajo children continued to be baptized. A boy twelve or thirteen years old was baptized the day before the campaign left Santa Fe. Since he was a servant of a soldier he was baptized in the military chapel there, having been catechized. While the expedition was in the field there were two children baptized in Albuquerque, one at Abiquiu and one at Belen. The Navajos' hopes of recovering any of their lost children were rapidly diminishing.

The presence of enemy troops in their country did not place the Navajo warriors entirely on the defensive, however. On July 14 a resident of La Joya was buried at Socorro, having been killed by Navajos. In the middle of August they struck near Tome and three Spanish-Americans, residents of San Fernando, Los Enlames and Tomé, were killed, being buried on the 15th and 16th. Other attacks resulting in one death at Albuquerque and two at Santa Fe were made by "enemies." War was brewing with the Comanches and either tribe could have been the successful one. The Navajos visited the Socorro area again, where another resident of Las Huertas was buried on the 17th. The Vizcarra campaign did not immediately end the war. On September 23 another Socorro man was buried after the Navajos killed him. Two men had been killed a few days earlier at Santa Fe by attackers identified only as "enemies". The troops' harvest of potential servants was not intended for surrender, however. Between September 4 and November 17 at least eighteen Navajos were baptized at various parishes. Most were very small children who had probably been captives but a short time. In the following year, 1824, at least 71 Navajos were baptized. Many were described in the baptismal entries as "purchased," "sold," or "ransomed." Two were said to have been purchased from the Navajos themselves, one of these, a six-year-old girl baptized at Nambé, reportedly sold by her own parents.

The Navajos seem to have been in a very poor condition economically. For the next ten years there is no record of any death caused by Navajos, in spite of the fact that numerous thefts of livestock were blamed on them. Navajo children were baptized in large numbers for a few years. There were at least 74 baptisms of Navajos in 1825. Again most were children and obviously servants. Only two show any indication of being the result of voluntary conversions. One of these was recorded in the Belen book and was the baptism of a 50-year-old Navajo man who was baptized at the point of death some distance from the parish, having asked

for the rite through the interpreter, Antonio. The other was the baptism at Cochiti of a 34 year old Navajo woman who, on the same day, May 24, married a Cochiti Indian. Following this year there was a gradual decrease in the number of Navajos baptized. In 1826 the number was 41; in 1827 it was nineteen and by 1828 it was down to four. There continued to be a few baptisms: four in 1829, seven in 1830, three in 1831, two in 1831, one in 1833 and three in 1834. Vizcarra made one last campaign against the Navajos in 1825, returning in April after killing eleven warriors and three women and taking another 22 captives. (NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1821-45, Juan de Abrego and others.) A treaty was finally made in July 1829 which, at least according to a rough draft, required the Navajos to surrender all prisoners they held, but allowed the New Mexicans to keep those that they had, except that any Navajo who escaped and returned successfully to his own country would be allowed to remain free. (NMSRCA, MA 2256). Boundary disputes had been forgotten and the battle for the captives seems to have been the only factor that kept the war going so long. Military defeat was not the only cause of trouble for the Navajos at this time. The early years of the 1820's brought drought throughout Navajo country (Smiley & Stokes 1959; see also Newcomb, 1964, p. 11) and recovery was slow. While the Navajos rebuilt their strength they refrained from war with the whites, even though a few desperate families sometimes made off with the whites livestock.

An expedition was sent out in the spring of 1833 against the Navajos, but little is known about it (NMSRCA, MA 3054, p. 1). The Navajos made no successful retaliation, apparently, until they managed to kill a man near Zia (NMSRCA, MA 3961) and in September of 1834 when they killed two residents of San Antonio in the Albuquerque parish. de Hinojos led a campaign against the Navajos that lasted from October 13 to November 17, 1834 which killed sixteen Navajos, and captured three. (NMSRCA, Service Record of Capt. Blas de Hinojos, 31 Dec. 1834.) Three Navajos were baptized early in 1835, perhaps those captured on this expedition. Before the baptisms had all been done, however, Hinojos was off on his last campaign. In spite of the nonappearance of several men ordered to join the expedition, it left Santa Fe on February 8. (NMSRCA, MA 4331.) The troops marched into the mountains, apparently confident of more easy victories (Gregg, 1954, p. 200), at present-day Washington Pass (Simpson, Annual Address, 1852, p. 9).

According to later Navajo accounts Hinojos led a force of 1,000 men (Dodge to Meriwether, 13 June 1856, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, N-138/1856 encl.), which would not have been an unusual number for the time. The Navajos had watched the troops' approach and prepared an ambush which was highly successful. The date of the battle was February 28 (NMSRCA, MA 4301) just short of three weeks after leaving Santa Fe. How many of the enemy the defenders killed is not certain. No burial records resulting from the engagement have been found. According to contemporary documents, they included Hinojos himself, Don Juan Antonio Cabesa de Baca, who commanded the 3rd Division," and other individuals." (NMSRCA, MA 4375-79). Navajos later reported that Hinojos, the father of Don Tomás Baca (probably the Cabesa de Baca mentioned above), and Salvador, the captain of Jemez Pueblo, who was forced to jump off a cliff, were among "the great many" that they killed. (Dodge, supra). It was one of the Navajos' greatest victories, even though the survivors who returned to New Mexico on March 13 claimed to have killed 35 warriors and taken four captives. (NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co. Enlistment Papers, 1821-45, Juan Esquivel, Manuel Jiménez and others.) Before the troops were back the Navajos struck near Tome, killing three men, who were buried there on March 10. On March 19 another man killed by the Navajos was buried at Tomé. The tribe had recovered from the earlier wars and drought and was ready to defend its interests to the extent necessary. On June 6 they raided Lemitar, near Socorro, killing one man and wounding (NMSRCA, MA 4375). The whites were forced to go to San Miquel in the Navajos own country to negotiate a treaty with them in August (NMSRCA, MA 4367 and Santa Fe Presidial Co. Enlistment Papers, 1821-45, Ramon Torres and others). While the text of the treaty is not known, there were few Navajo baptisms following the war, so that an exchange of prisoners seems likely. Only one Navajo boy, baptized in November in Santa Fe, has been found in the baptismal records of the remainder of the year. There were only two Navajos baptized in 1836, in so far as the records give this information, one in March and one in July, both at Sandia.

In the summer of 1836, however, hostilities broke out again. By November 1 three campaigns had attacked the Navajos, the last of which killed 19 warriors and one woman (NMSRCA, MA 4367). The Navajos retaliated with an attack near Albuquerque in which they killed five whites, all of whom were buried on November 24. Another campaign was dispatched which operated in the central mountains of the

Navajo country, killing 20 warriors and capturing nine women and children (NMSRCA, MA 4367). Following this campaign there were a few baptisms of Navajos, María del Refugio in January, and María Albina de Jesús in March, both at Albuquerque, their ages not given, a fourteen-year-old boy, "well instructed and catechized" at Peñasco in the Picurís parish and a small girl at Sabinal in the Belen parish, both in May. In October a five-year-old boy was baptized in Albuquerque, and a two-year-old girl was baptized about a month later in the same place. There is little evidence in the documentary record of hostilities by either side during the early part of 1837, but by fall it was apparent that the war was not ended. In an attack at La Piedrita del Carnero near Ojo Caliente the Navajos killed one man and captured four shepherds (NMSRCA, MA 5178). In an even more successful raid near Albuquerque Navajo forces killed six Spanish-Americans, who were buried on November 22. Following this there was another lull in the fighting, but nothing to indicate any formal treaty of peace. There was only one baptism of a Navajo in the early part of 1838, a girl at San Miguel del Vado on May 16. There appear to be no records of Navajo attacks or even rustling by individual Navajos during the year.

Nonetheless, a campaign set out from Santa Fe on September 13, 1838. The fighting ranged from the Tunicha Mountains to the Gila River where the Apaches became involved. According to the governor the troops killed 78 warriors and took 56 captives, losing only one man. many of the Indian casualties were Navajo is not specified, but apparently most were, since only one battle took place on the Gila. The booty, including the captives, was distributed among those who took part in the expedition. (NMSRCA, MA 5381). The exact date of return is not known, although the campaign was planned to last about two months. There was a sudden increase in the baptisms of Navajo children that began November 2 and by the end of the year seven had been baptized in various parishes. The number baptized is not nearly sufficient to account for the number of captives claimed, however, unless large numbers were recorded in the baptismal books merely as "Indian." spite of these successes, another campaign was sent out from Abiquiu on December 8. It was in the field until about the end of the month and near present Tocito attacked a rancheria, killing two warriors and one woman and capturing "six little slaves of all (sic) sexes." (UNM, microfilm of Mexican Archives, Vol. for the year 1838, Part V, pp.

1300-03). The first effect of these campaigns was to intensify Navajo raiding and in April the Navajos succeeded in causing one death at Laguna. (NMSRCA, MA 5724, p. 1). In the early part of 1839 there are records of the baptisms of four more Navajo children at Socorro, Albuquerque and Taos. Peace negotiations were apparently initiated and a treaty concluded. At Jemez on July 15, Governor Manuel Armijo appointed a Navajo named Antonio Sandoval as "captain" to govern the tribe, at the same time giving the Navajos a copy of the treaty. (NMSRCA, MA 5798). The treaty itself has not been located and its terms relating to captives are not known. Only one more baptism of a Navajo servant, belonging to Armijo himself, has been found for the period of peace that followed this treaty. She was baptized at Santa Fe on July 22 and given the name of Maria. Following the treaty a citizen proposed that private donations be made to buy the captives held by New Mexicans in order to return them to the Navajos in exchange for captives held by the Indians, but the governor disapproved of the plan. (NMSRCA, MA 5798). The Navajos were clearly not satisfied with the arrangements, for in September they killed a man at Cebolleta (NMSRCA, MA 5724).

In October of 1839 another campaign left to invade Navajo country. Only a copy of the daily orders of one column of the troops has been located, but this gives at least part of the story. By the time this column had returned to Abiquiu about December 9 it had killed sixteen Navajos and captured two. (NMSRCA, MA NM Misc. Doc.). Another column claimed to have killed nine and captured one. (NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1821-45, Juan Lopes). Again the first result was an increase in Navajo attacks. While the tired troops were heading for home Navajo forces advanced upon the poorly defended towns. Two Spanish-Americans were buried at Tomé on December 3. both residents of Valencia. The most successful Navajo attack known from the records soon followed and sixteen Christians were buried at Belen on December 4. Five were residents of Sausal, the rest of Belen, and they appear to have been young adult males. Six were married men. others were described merely as "adultos". Three days later another man killed by Navajos was buried at Tomé. another resident of Valencia and the Navajos seem to have hit Valencia both going to and returning from their attack on Belen. Toward the end of the year a few Navajo baptisms were recorded, an eight-month-old boy at Albuquerque on November 30, who died on the same day, and a young girl

belonging to Don Juan Perea of Bernalillo at Sandia on December 22. Another girl was baptized at Tome on January 26, 1840. In February 1840 another Christian was killed, being buried at Tomé on the 12th. A Navajo boy was baptized as a servant at Taos on May 30 and a girl on June 17 at the same place. In August the Navajos struck near the settlements of El Savino and La Partida in the Socorro parish, killing two men and a woman and getting away safely (NMSRCA, MA 6128-32). In September a party of Spanish-Americans set out on their own and attacked a Navajo rancheria, taking some cap-(NMSRCA, MA 6149, No. 10). In October the Navajos killed two men from Valencia who were buried at Tomé, one on the 13th and the other the next day. In the same month two New Mexican columns operating in Navajo country killed a total of 33 warriors and took fourteen captives of both (NMSRCA, MA 6149). Four Navajo children were baptized in November, perhaps taken during this campaign. Another was baptized on December 21. Peace negotiations were initiated in December (NMSRCA, MA 6201-6) and continued into the following year. The treaty proposed by the whites included a provision that the Navajos "hand over all of our captives that might be among them without demanding equal recompense" and allowed Navajo servants to gain their freedom only if they successfully escaped and returned to their own (NMSRCA, MA 6285). The whites continued to have a few servants baptized, one at Santa Fe on January 3 and another at Belen on February 28 being identified by the records as Navajo. The treaty was discussed with the Navajos the second week of March. The Navajo negotiators objected to its terms and the issue of captives was a major stumbling block, as reported by Francisco Sandoval to the Governor:

them this favor, binding themselves by this, that all of the captives of our /people/ that are found in their nation have been handed over, being the basis upon which a peace can be secured that might inspire confidence and reparations; that at present they are convinced that Your Excellency does not wish to hand over to them any of their captives; /that/ the only way it can be made easy for them is to listen to their reason, for they say that some ten times they have surrendered our captives and none have been returned to them; that if Your Excellency could assent to their propositions or requests the points

of Chacoli or Jemez are indicated as those that would serve for the return of captives --- (NMSRCA, MA 6291).

While the negotiations continued another Navajo held at Bernalillo was baptized at Isleta on April 28. appears that some sort of treaty had been concluded by May 8, 1841 (NMSRCA, MA 6225, Nos. 15 & 16), but its provisions are not known. The baptism of Navajo servants continued. Eight Navajos were baptized during the remainder of the year at various places, all except the last being servants and children. The eighth was the baptism of a 40 year old Navajo given the name of José Clemente at Laguna on November 14, the priest having catechized him and reported to superior church authorities before performing the rite. Whether he was a man who had been taken captive when young, but never previously baptized, or a true voluntary convert, is not determinable from the baptismal entry, but this information would probably be contained in the priest's report if it could be located.

The year 1842 was one of relative peace. Only three Navajo servants were baptized, these probably having been acquired in earlier years. Only once were the Navajos accused of taking white-owned livestock (NMSRCA, MA 7058).

The following year, 1843, began quietly, but in June and July the Navajos were thrice accused of taking New Mexican stock. The New Mexicans still held Navajo children. A boy was baptized at San Felipe on August 13. In September two girls were baptized, one at Tomé and one at Socorro. Just when warfare broke out is uncertain, but there were two campaigns sent against the Navajos that year which resulted in fifteen deaths of Navajo warriors and thirteen captives carried off. (NMSRCA, MA 7498). Navajos also attacked New Mexico in earnest, going as far east as San Miguel del Vado to kill five men, who were buried there on November 20. Two men killed near Tomé and buried there on December 14 were killed by unidentified "enemies," probably Navajos.

For the New Mexicans, 1844 was again a year of making peace with the Navajos and baptizing the captives taken in the war. Throughout the course of the year at least eighteen Navajo children held as servants were baptized, including another servant of Manuel Armijo, now no longer governor, baptized in Albuquerque August 4. Private raiding continued into February when a group of citizens attacked the Navajos,

killing nineteen and capturing eighteen of both sexes (NMSRCA, MA 7534, p. 10). Two copies of the proposed treaty show that the New Mexicans expected the Navajos to agree to surrendering all captives that they held, but the Navajos could regain their own people taken captive only by "ransoming them from those that possess them" or by the captives "escaping from their masters and arriving in their land, they will remain free, and the tribe without any responsibility." (NMSRCA, MA 7596, p. 21 and Steck Papers, 134 P, bx. 1, #268-269). Whether the Navajos submitted to these conditions is not known, but the large number of baptisms suggests that they did and that this new treaty merely laid the foundations for continued resentments that would lead to more wars. The Navajos may have been misled in the negotiations, for in April they asked for the return of captives taken by the Sahuano Utes, "leaning on the peace in which the Comandante General promised to rescue and return them." The general's reply was that their claim was false and that they had been told that they must locate captives and ransom them as they might be able. (NMSRCA, MA 7534, p. 21). Three days later he changed his mind about the matter, however, and instead of threatening war as he had done shortly before ordered that one maiden and two children captured by Don José Portalam and sold in New Mexico be located and paid for by the government, since it was indispensable that peace be preserved with the tribe. (NMSRCA, MA 7534, p. 23). This was done quickly and there is a record of payment of 111 pesos on April 28 "for the return of 3 captives from the Navajos in accordance with the treaty celebrated with that nation." (NMSRCA, Record Book of the Departmental Treasury of New Mexico, 1844). These three were not the only captives taken by Portalam, however, nor did they include the most important one. greatest concern was caused by the fact that one of the captives was the daughter of a headman, Francisco. October 16 an order was issued commanding that the headman's daughter be returned to him in exchange for another "Navajo female" that he was willing to give to get her back. (NMSRCA, MA 7533).

The year 1845 saw another renewal of the war and the captives whose return was denied to the Navajos were doubtless an important factor. Only a few baptisms are definitely identifiable as Navajos, but there were at least nine during the year. In addition, there is an order by the governor requiring that a Navajo woman held captive by a citizen be given to a Jicarilla chief in April (NMSRCA, MA 7533), but

the circumstances surrounding this incident are not known. The earliest death attributable to Navajos was in April, a man named José Apodaca being buried at Zuni on the 10th, killed by "los Nabajoes." Some people were later killed at Cochiti by Navajos, but on July 5, sometime after this event, there still seemed to be some doubt as to whether the tribe had declared war or these attacks were merely individual acts. According to rumor, the tribe was divided, the rich wanting peace and the poor wanting war. MA 8126). By October 18 the burial books included seven more entries of people killed, but the tribe or tribes responsible were not identified: one at Taos in May was attributed to "the enemy Indians," five others in July to "enemies" at Abiquiu and to "the barbarous Indians," "the barbarians" or merely "the Indians" at Taos and one at Picuris in October to "the enemies." The Navajos can probably take credit for some of these victories, but the Utes were also at war and most deaths occurred near the Ute country. In November a party of Taos Indians went in pursuit of some stolen horses and encountered a Navajo rancheria at Tierra Amarilla, well into Ute country, where the Navajos probably went in alliance with the Utes. The Taoseños killed four Navajos, two of them women, and brought back three girls which they took to San Ildefonso. MA 8359) .

The baptism of Navajo children as servants continued at a relatively high rate in 1846. By August 16 at least eleven had been baptized at various parishes. On August 16 and 17 an unusual series of baptisms was recorded at Acoma. On the 16th three adult Navajos, all catechized, two for a long time, were baptized. They included two men aged 25 and 34 and a woman aged 30. The woman, who was named María Dolores, had three children, ages three months and seven and nine years, baptized, one on the 16th and two on the 17th. The father of the children was called "Cholune" and said to be pagan. Another four-year-old boy, who was baptized on the 17th, was identified as the son of ? "José Antonio," already baptized and possibly the same man as the "Antonio" baptized the previous day. His mother was listed as named "Pagi" and said to be pagan. Most of their godparents were Acoma Indians. These do not appear to be baptisms of captives, but the fact that it resulted in at least two families being split between Christians and pagans leaves considerable uncertainty regarding the exact circumstances. In the meantime the Navajos and Utes had allied together to begin a new war against New Mexico and United

States troops were advancing from the east.

The occupation by the United States did not change the situation. The New Mexicans thought they had both new allies and a new market for the captives. Lieutenant Abert reported being offered a Navajo woman at a ranch between Bernalillo and Santo Domingo:

Old Montejo offered to sell me a Navajo squaw, who happened to pass as we were bargaining for the mule; and he then related a long story about the depredations committed by the Navajoes; that they kept all New Mexico poor, whilst they themselves rolled in wealth, "son muy ricos, tienen muchos caballos, muchos carneras, muchos bucyos /sic/, muchos! muchos! muchos!" (Abert, 1848, pp. 46-47).

The presence of foreign troops did not deter the Navajos, who were determined to defeat the New Mexicans. Five women killed at Sabinal and buried at Belen on August 20 and a man from El Bosque buried at Belen on September 26 were killed by "the enemies." Whether these were killed by Navajos is uncertain, but three men buried at Belen in October killed by "the enemies" almost certainly were, for a Navajo war party passed near Moquino going south about the same time (Abert, 1848, p. 52). In November the headmen made a treaty with the United States, promising to discontinue the war with the New Mexicans, even though, as the headman Sarcillos Largos stated, "We had just cause for all this." (Hughes, Doniphan's Expedition, 1848, p. 187). Six days after the treaty two men were killed at Valverde by Navajos, but these had probably not yet heard of the treaty, as the troops there did not know of it at that time either. (Abert, 1848, pp. 86-91).

General Kearny had promised the New Mexicans religious freedom when he occupied the province and this apparently was interpreted to include freedom to baptize captives. At least the United States, busy with the war with Mexico, took little or no notice of this activity and by the end of the year at least six more children had received the rite that in the eyes of the New Mexicans prevented their return to their own parents, and three more were baptized in January and February of 1847. All but one of these were baptized after the conclusion of the treaty, even though the treaty provided for a mutual exchange of all prisoners, payment

being stipulated for any that one party might have in excess of those held by the other (Connelley, 1907, p. 307).

The continued baptisms suggest that no captives were surrendered. By March 1847 the Navajos had again begun war. On March 5 burial services were performed at Belen for four men killed by "the Navajo enemies." This was a most successful attack as regards the quality of the victims. One was Juan Cruz Pino, son of Manuel Pino and Manuela Pino, who held Navajo servants. A campaign against the Navajos that set out from Cebolleta under the command of Captain José Manuel Savedra passed through Zuni in May 1847. (Lib. of Cong., Indian Papers, Vol. I). In June the Navajos killed a resident of Alameda, Juan Antonio Rael, who was apparently quite rich, for the priest noted that 25 pesos were paid for his funeral services, a very high price in those days. was buried at Albuquerque on June 24. Another man killed by the Navajos was the same age as Rael, 50 years old, but by way of contrast, it might be noted that only one peso was paid for his funeral services, which were held at Alameda in the Albuquerque parish on July 20.

The documentation of events during the first few years of United States occupation of the southwest is very limited and practically nothing is known about the hostilities of 1847. Kearny, however, had given the New Mexicans permission in October, 1846 "to form war parties, to march into the country of their enemies, the Navajos, to recover their property, to make reprisals and obtain redress for the many insults received from them." (NA, R of Adj. Gen. Off., RG 94, LR, K-196/1846). In spite of the subsequent treaty, this may well have encouraged slave raiding. In 1847 there were seventeen identifiable Navajo baptisms, all except one being of servants. The one exception was Mariano, alias "el Indio Giisco," 29 years old, who was baptized at Laguna on May 9 after having been "thoroughly" catechized.

The war-peace cycle seemed to have settled into an annual shift from one state to the other. No record of specific Navajo hostilities appears during 1848, but an expedition under Colonel E. W. B. Newby was sent into Navajo country. Newby made another treaty with the tribe at "Monte del Cayatana," present-day Beautiful Mountain near Sanostee. According to the 3rd Article:

There shall be an entire restoration of all prisoners that are held at the date of this

treaty by either of the parties, and the people of New Mexico; such restoration to be full and complete without regard to the number of prisoners held. (NA, R of Adj. Gen. Off., RG 94, LR. N-90/1848 encl.)

The treaty was signed on May 20. Nine baptisms of children identified as Navajo were recorded in the church records in 1848. All date prior to the signing of the treaty, the last one being on May 15. This strongly suggests that U. S. officials made an effort to return Navajo children to their parents in accordance with the treaty, but no contemporary records have been located to indicate the degree of success attained. Later records suggest that it was not great. Early in 1849 two Navajo children were baptized, both girls, one at Taos in January and another at San Juan in February. These were the only two baptisms so identified during the year however.

Peace continued through the early part of 1849. In August Colonel J. M. Washington, who was then both military commander and governor of New Mexico, set out on an expedition to Navajo country. Col. Washington, eleven days before the expedition left Santa Fe, wrote:

From the repeated depredations committed on the settlements of New Mexico by the Navajoe Indians, and which have lately been attended by the murder of some of the inhabitants, it has become necessary to make a campaign against them. Accordingly I expect, in a few days, to set out with a sufficient force to ensure the most favorable results - one of which will probably be to lay the foundation of a lasting peace. (NA, RG 98, Washington to Jones, 5 Aug. 1849.)

This statement raises the problem of how well informed Col. Washington was of Navajo activities and of the degree of completeness of the records surviving from that time. From the latter part of July 1847 until after the departure of Washington's expedition not a single specific instance of death attributed to the Navajos has been located, either in the official archives or the church records, nor is there any contemporary report of a specific case of Navajos taking livestock. There is, in fact, only one instance of a violent death recorded in the burial records, that of José Martín

Sisneros of Arroyo Hondo who was buried at Taos on January 29, 1848. According to the cryptic entry, he died "a manos de armas," but by what weapons and in whose hands is neither stated nor implied. The weight of the data indicates that the Navajos were unjustly accused. Certainly the expedition did not, in its early stages, maintain the close formations that would have been essential when invading hostile territory. Small parties and even single individuals wandered away from the main column with little regard for safety. (Simpson, 1850, pp. 70-88). Simpson, who accompanied the expedition as topographical engineer officer, later stated that:

The object of the expedition was to coerce the Navajos into a compliance with a treaty which they had made with the United States, three years previous, under Col. Nuby /sic/ of the volunteers; and at the same time extend the provisions of the treaty, so that they would be put in the same relation to the government of the United States, as the tribes conterminous to our old western frontier are, to wit: the Creeke, Choctaws, Cherokees, Seminoles, Winnebagos and others. (Simpson, 1852, p. 5)

It is thus not clear whether the primary purpose of the expedition was to make war or to make peace. In view of the events, it seems probable that Col. Washington and his staff were none too sure either. The army met a large number of Navajos at Tunicha on the east side of the mountains and immediately began discussions of a treaty, at the same time appropriating the nearby corn fields for feeding their horses. (Simpson, 1850, pp. 89-90). These preliminary talks had barely been ended, with local representatives chosen to go to Canyon de Chelly where the treaty was to be concluded, when a disagreement over a stolen horse caused Washington to order the troops to fire upon the assembled crowd of Navajos, resulting in the deaths of some, including Narbona, an old and respected headman. (Ibid., pp. 90-91; also Senate Executive Doc. 1 (Serial 549), 31st Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 111-12 and 994-1002). Although the command continued to Canyon de Chelly as planned and did obtain the signatures of two Navajo headmen on the proposed treaty, peace was not established. It should be noted that the treaty provided for the surrender of prisoners by the Navajos, but not by the New Mexicans (Kappler, 1904, pp. 583-85). is ironic that the treaty effected by this expedition, which

was sent out to establish a firm peace but which actually renewed hostilities, was one of only two made with the Navajos ever to be ratified by the Senate.

The Navajos were probably sufficiently impressed by Washington's cannons and well armed troops. They made no effort to attack his main force.

Narbona and the other Navajos were killed on August 31. (Simpson, 1850, pp. 89-91). On September 5 the Navajos killed two messengers carrying mail to the expedition, catching them about 40 miles east of Tunicha. (Exec. Doc. 17, House of Rep., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 217). Following this the Navajos invaded the Rio Grande Valley. On September 24 they killed five Spanish-Americans near Sandia (Ibid., p. 206). A man buried at Santa Fe on October 4 had been killed by "the barbarous Indians," the time and place suggesting that this also was part of the Navajos' retaliation for the Washington campaign. The next day "Navajos, and others unknown," attacked a settlement about fifteen miles northwest of Laguna, killing two Spanish-Americans and carrying off a woman. (Exec. Doc. 17, House of Rep., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 218). On the 10th a man killed in the country by the Navajos was buried at Albuquer-The Navajos' campaign may have slackened a bit during the winter and spring. Burial records for two men killed in the early part of 1850, one at Sandia in January and one at Taos in May, do not indicate who their killers were. June the Navajos were definitely active again, however. They killed a Spanish-American near Jemez on the 5th and an Acoma Indian on the 10th. (NA, RG 98, Buford to McLaws, 10 June 1850.) On July 21 another Spanish-American, a resident of Corrales, was buried at Sandia, having been killed by Navajos. On October 24 two shepherds were killed at Agua Salada, apparently near the Puerco of the East, by Navajos. (Abel, 1915, p. 283).

The war continued to be primarily between the New Mexicans and the Navajos, with U. S. troops taking little part in it. In November a large force of Spanish-Americans invaded Navajo country because of the theft of 2000 sheep at Valverde. Having recovered 500 sheep at Red Lake, they continued to Mesa de la Vaca, present-day Black Mesa, where they attacked some Navajos, taking 52 prisoners as well as considerable stock. The expedition lost six men killed and seven missing. (Abel, 1915, pp. 284-85).

Only one Navajo child was found in the baptismal books for 1850, but nine records of Navajo baptisms appear for the period from February 2 to July 21 of 1851. All are in the southern parishes which supplied the men for the expedition to Mesa de la Vaca. There can be little doubt that these baptisms resulted from that expedition and the discrepancy in numbers gives some index of the proportion of Indian captives that were identified by tribe in the baptismal records. It might be noted that Lorenzo Labadi, later agent to the Utes, was then a resident of Tome and had one of these children in his house. The Navajos continued the war, however. On January 15 they killed one man, wounded another and carried off a captive. (Abel, 1915, p. 288). About February 5 they killed two men who were camped some five miles from Los (Ibid., p. 291). In June of 1851 a small force of Spanish-Americans raided the Navajos. They killed two men and two women, but lost eight of their own men. (Abel, 1916, pp. 197-99). There were four other deaths attributed to Navajos during the year, three near Laguna about July 1 (Abel, 1915, p. 389) and one at Peña Blanca in August. (Abel, 1915, p. 451). No deaths attributed either to Navajos or unidentified Indians were found in the burial records for the year, however. In August Col. Sumner led troops into Navajo country and some of these began the construction of Fort Defiance while others invaded Canyon de Chelly. (Abel, 1915, pp. 416-19). Following this, hostilities abated on both sides. The new fort was obviously a factor in establishing a temporary peace. Sumner signed a treaty with the Navajos at Jemez on November 15, 1851, (Brooks & Reeve, eds., of Bennett, Forts & Forays, 1850-1856, 1948, p. 32) but no copy of this is known, nor any of its provisions.

In January 1852 a delegation of Navajo headmen came to Santa Fe to deliver three captives in accordance with their agreement with Governor Calhoun made at Jemez, probably as a part of the treaty. Agent John Greiner's conversation with Armijo, a leading headman, was in part concerned with the problem of captives.

Agent. My brothers, let us talk plain so that we may understand each other. The people living in the Rio Abajo complain that the Navajos have captured their children, stolen their stock, that their fields have to lie idle for they cannot work them for fear of your people. Is this not so?

Armijo. My people are all crying in the same way. Three of our chiefs now sitting before you mourn for their children who have been taken from their homes by the Mexicans. than 200 of our children have been carried off and we know not where they are. Mexicans have lost but few children in comparison with what they have stolen from us. Three years ago they took from my people nearly all their Cavalladas: Two years ago my brother lost 700 animals. How shall we get them again. We leave our Great Father to decide. From the time of Col. Newby we have been trying to get our children back again. Eleven times have we given up our captives -only once have they given us ours. My people are yet crying for the children they have lost. Is it American justice that we must give up everything and receive nothing?

Agent. You have never told us this before-The Great Father at Washington shall hear of
it, and you shall hear what he says.

Hereafter no more captives must be taken on either side. Depredations must no longer be committed by either party. Should our people injure you, instead of injuring them you must send one of your young men and let the Governor or Agent know. Justice will be done and the offenders shall be punished. If any property is stolen on either side it must be restored to the proper owners. The chiefs will be held responsible for the conduct of their young men.

In spite of Greiner's professing some ignorance of Armijo's complaints, he reported in the same letter that

There is too much truth in what these Indians complain of. It was the custom of the Mexicans to fit out expeditions against them every year, everyone claiming what he stole as his plunder. --

These Indians are now what the U. S. Government is striving to make of all the wild Indian tribes—a farming community. I was so well convinced with the truth of the remarks of

Armijo that I confess I had but little to say. If the Indians must return all the captives and property taken from the Mexicans--is it anything but just that they should have what has been stolen from them? I think not. (Greiner to Calhoun, 31 Jan. 1852, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, N-25/1852 encl.)

Governor Calhoun forwarded the letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea, adding his own opinion that the Navajos' statements were true (Calhoun to Lea, 31 Jan. 1852, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, N-25/1852).

It is uncertain just how long a period Armijo meant to cover in his figures. A figure of 200 children lost would probably include losses in the late Mexican period as well as those under United States rule unless a very large proportion of the baptisms identified merely as Indian were Navajo. It is a safe assumption that they had all been taken since 1840, however. It is not known that the government made any serious effort to locate and return these children. Raiding for captives seems to have been brought under some control. Only one record of the baptism of a young Navajo child, a girl baptized at Belen on July 25, has been discovered for 1852. Two other Navajo servants baptized at Belen in November were eighteen and 28 years old and had probably been captives for some years at the time. In the early part of 1853 a Navajo boy was baptized at Cebolleta.

Even in times of peace the families that had lost children still held by the New Mexicans probably felt little compunction about making off with livestock or even about killing a Spanish-American under the right (or wrong) circumstances. A case that illustrates this well was reported in May. A council to recover stolen property was held in the Tunicha Mountains:

---I also demanded a mule which had been stolen from José Ignacio Montoya, but the Indian Francisco García who had it in possession, refused to deliver it up, alleging as a reason that he had a son living in Taos or Abiquiu, and that as soon as he was returned to him, the mule should be forthcoming. (Vigil to Lane, May 25, 1853, NA, RG 75, NMS, LR, N-120/1853 encl.)

By the spring of 1853 there were troubles again between Navajos and Spanish-Americans. Captain H. L. Kendrick, the commanding officer at Fort Defiance, was quite unsympathetic to the Navajos and suggested that permission be given to the Spanish-Americans to take Navajo captives and retain them. (Kendrick to Sturgis, 14 June 1853, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, K-15/1853). A man had been killed at Abiquiu (ibid.), but serious warfare had not broken out. Kendrick's recommendation was not put into effect, for the number of baptisms remained few. A three-year-old Navajo girl was baptized at Laguna in July and another girl was baptized there in September.

In the same month a delegation of headmen visited Santa Fe to confer with David Meriwether, then newly-appointed governor of the territory. Sarcillos Largos took this opportunity to again complain of "many acts of aggression on the part of the Mexican portion of the population of this Territory and particularly of the Navijo prisoners heretofore taken and now held in captivity." Meriwether had not known about the problem previously, but promised to take action:

To this I replied that I had no knowledge of any Navijo being held in captivity in the Territory but assured him that every one which came to my knowledge should be restored immediately. And as an evidence of my intention to do so I informed him that several Mexicans who had become the adopted children of the Navijos were then present with him, that they were well acquainted with our country and people and if these would point out or give information of such a prisoner a restoration should instantly be made. But I informed him that all of our prisoners held by the Navijos must likewise be restored.

To this he replied that there were two or three Mexicans with his people who had been made prisoners long since, had married Navijo wives and some such were then present and were at liberty to remain with their people if they chose to do so (but on being questioned these Mexicans expressed a strong wish to return with the Navijos and I left them at liberty to do so). He then continued by saying that there were four other captives with his people who

had no families and that they should be restored through our agent on his return. (Meriwether to Manypenny, 19 Sept. 1853, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, N-177/1953).

The Utes were apparently taking captives from both sides for sale to the other, depending upon their shifting alliances. In 1854 a Spanish-American boy from Abiquiu who returned from the Navajos stated that he had been captured by the Utes and sold to the Navajos, among whom he had lived for eight years. (Kendrick to Messervy, 22 June 1854, NA, BIA, RG 75, NM Fld. Papers). Only two baptisms of Navajo children have been found for the year, both at Cebolleta, dated September 25 and November 14. While there is no evidence that Navajo children had been returned to their parents, the promises of Greiner and Meriwether had some effect and Meriwether's proposal for a new treaty the following year probably raised Navajo hopes. There was no specific mention made of captives in the new treaty (Articles of Agreement and Convention, 18 July 1855, NA, RDS, RG 11, State Dept. Coll. of Ind. Treaties), and its influence upon this issue is not readily determinable.

There was increased theft of livestock by Navajos in 1856 and at least two deaths of New Mexicans. A resident of Cochiti died in May of wounds inflicted by Navajos. He was buried at Cochiti on the 22nd. The other was apparently killed while pasturing his sheep in Navajo country. (Gorman to Dodge, 27 June 1856, NA, BIA, RG 75, NM Fld. Papers; Trent to De Leon, 8 July 1856, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR). The events of that year came close to erupting into war (Dodge to Meriwether, 13 June 1856, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, N-138/1856 encl.) and it is probable that the government's success in halting slave raids had a good deal to do with keeping the peace, even though children already taken from the Navajos were not returned. No Navajo baptisms were located in the church records for the entire year.

In the following year the peace remained in a rather precarious balance, but continued in spite of minor troubles. Three Navajo children were baptized. A ten-year-old boy baptized at Taos in April and a young boy baptized at Picuris in October were probably sold to the Spanish-Americans by the Utes, although the baptismal entries do not so state specifically. There were periodic Ute attacks, some of which resulted in the taking of captives, from 1855 into 1858, the Spanish-Americans participating in at least one of these.

(Dodge to Manypenny, 30 June 1855, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, N-469/1855 encl.; Kendrick to Nichols, 11 Feb. 1857, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, K-1/1857; Bonneville to Nichols, 24 Nov. 1857, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, B-43/1857; Bonneville to Collins, 17 Jan. 1858, BIA, RG 75, NM Fld. Papers; Brooks to Asst. Adj. Gen., 20 March 1858, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, B-15/1858; Ward to Yost, 9 April 1858, NA, BIA, RG 75, NM Fld. Papers; Brooks to Asst. Adj. Gen., 1 July 1858, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, B-42/1858.) A year-old Navajo girl was baptized at Cebolleta in November. The peace continued into the early part of 1858 and one other Navajo child appears in the baptismal entries prior to the outbreak of war, a four-year-old girl baptized at Cebolleta in March.

The underlying causes of the wars that began late in 1858 appear to have been many and complex. The issue of captives was doubtless one, among others, that kept animosities alive. Disputes between the Navajos and the military at Fort Defiance were the immediate cause. There is little evidence of early Navajo successes and they were obviously unprepared for the precipitation of hostilities.

While the first part of the war was in progress there was a voluntary baptism of a Navajo infant at Cebolleta in November. She was given the name of Leonarda and was the daughter of Huero, a pagan, and of Maria Guadalupe, a baptized Navajo. The priest noted that the baptism was performed at the request and expense of the parents.

The first part of the war ended shortly, with the Navajos suing for peace. A truce agreed upon on November 30 included a stipulation for an exchange of captives, but the wording implies that of the Navajos held, only those in the hands of the government were to be returned, not those held by private citizens. (Senate Exec. Doc. 2 (Serial 1024), 36th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 271-72.) A treaty concluded on Christmas day included a similar provision in almost the same words:

4th All prisoners or captives, either Mexicans or Pueblo Indians, in the possession of the Navajos who desire their release are to be given up to the U.S. for the purpose of being set at liberty or returned to their friends. On the other hand it is agreed that the Navajo prisoners in the hands of the

United States will be returned to their tribe. (NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, Y-42/1858).

Whether the Navajos understood the subtle significance of this article is not known. At any rate, sporadic hostilities continued and the number of Navajos baptized in the Spanish-American towns increased. In 1859 there were five such baptisms recorded specifically as Navajo. In January of 1860 there were eleven. In the meantime the Navajos held a meeting to decide whether to accept the treaty or to wage war. In a speech given by Sarcillos Largos, as quoted many years later by an old Navajo, in speaking for peace he tried to strengthen his own position as follows:

Blood revenge for my nephews who were killed near Wide Reeds---has never been taken. Women of my family are now slaves weaving blankets for the Mexicans. And in the last big ripening soldiers burned my hogans and corn fields. With you I have suffered. (VanValkenburgh, 1946, p. 6).

Van Valkenburgh calculated that this tribal assembly was held in the spring of 1859. This would fit the documented events, for Sarcillos Largos' hogans and fields had been attacked by U. S. troops during harvest time in September 1858. (Report of the Secretary of War, 1859, pp. 318-19).

With arguments of this sort Sarcillos Largos could do little to convince the people that they should choose peace, and those favoring war were the victors in the debate (<u>Ibid</u>.). For unknown reasons the all-out war does not seem to have begun until the following winter. There were numerous thefts of livestock, but little killing, perhaps because the tribe was still strongly divided upon the issue of war or peace.

Disagreements over reparations and a poorly formulated government policy for handling this matter was one of the major causes of trouble at this time. The commanding officer at Fort Defiance found the policy unjust and difficult to administer and further reported:

Another important item, in connection with Navajo affairs, is the depredations of Mexican citizens and Pueblo Indians upon Navajos. Since the troops arrived in the Navajo country, in June last, these depredations have increased under the supposition that the plundering of the Indians could be done with umpunity, and less danger be encountered; and they have been continued up to this time. (Simonson to Wilkins, 28 Sept. 1859, in Senate Exec. Doc. 2 (Serial 1024), 36th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 341-45.)

Intruders in Navajo country were not safe and four Spanish-Americans returning to Conejos and Abiquiu from the Umcompagre region were attacked, one being killed, about the end of the year. (Pfeiffer to Collins, 9 Jan. 1860, NA, BIA, RG 75, NM Fld. Papers, LR). Efforts were made by some leaders on both sides to prevent war, but for various reasons were unsuccessful. The final break came with a Navajo attack on detachments working out from Fort Defiance in January 1860, killing four soldiers. (S. F. Kendrick to Collins, 25 Feb. 1860, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, C-492/1860 encl.) With this, both sides began offensive preparations. The Navajos had fewer logistic problems to overcome and over half the tribe already considered the war well started. March the Navajos were fully involved in war and their farranging war parties were out to kill. Navajos had harassed the Fort Craig area in January and February (Stapleton to Porter, 10 Jan. 1860, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, P-2/1860; Hatch to Wilkins, 7 Feb. 1860, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, H-2/1860), and finally, early in March, they killed a sheep herder and wounded another in the Organ Mountains. to Collins, 5 March 1860, NA, BIA, RG 75, NM Fld. Papers, LR). On March 22 another man killed by the Navajos was buried at La Joya in the Socorro parish. On April 13 two Jemez Indians who had met a similar fate were buried at their pueblo and five days later another burial service was performed at Jemez due to the same cause.

The most ambitious undertaking of the Navajo war leaders was an attack upon Fort Defiance itself, probably their boldest effort to oust whites from their country since the attack at Cebolleta fifty-six years earlier. O. S. Shepherd, then commanding officer at the fort, gave the Navajos credit for a well planned attack. It took place on April 30 and an estimated 1000-2000 Navajos took part. They succeeded in taking temporarily some of the outbuildings and killed one soldier, Private Sylvanius Johnson. Although the Navajos had some firearms, they were still not sufficiently skilled in their use to employ them effectively and all

injury that they inflicted was done with arrows. They were finally forced to retreat with a loss of at least eight dead and others wounded, some seriously. (Shepherd to Wilkins, 7 May 1860, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, Misc. Doc., A/55/1860 encl.)

While the army was procrastinating, the Spanish-Americans took the offensive. More is known about their operations after the war had begun and they probably had been given some sort of official sanction. One force of 400 men invaded Navajo country sometime in the spring. (Reeve, 1937, p. 244). Another party of 96 men attacked the Navajos in the Tunicha Mountains in May, killing six, taking one woman captive, and losing one man themselves. (Shepherd to Wilkins, 12 May 1860, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, S-52/1860). Between February 1 and May 30 nine more captives identifiable as Navajos were baptized, all but two being very young children. In June there were five baptisms labeled Navajo, four being small children.

The Navajos continued to be active. A Navajo who had long lived at Jemez, apparently a captive from childhood, was wounded by Navajo warriors. He died of the wounds and was buried at Jemez on May 6. In June they killed another Jemez Indian who was buried at Zia, then a part of the Jemez parish, on June 7.

Another Spanish-American expedition set out. The Navajos were ready for incursions of this sort and even though short of ammunition effectively opposed the force with bows and arrows, losing perhaps five men killed, but preventing the enemy from taking any captives. (NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, S-97/1860). Some raiding parties were apparently carrying off a few captives, however, for three Navajo children were baptized in July and one more in August.

August was again a month of minor victories for the Navajos. Early in the month they attacked a mail party travelling from El Paso to Santa Fe, killing two men. (Collins to Greenwood, Sept. 16, 1860, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, C-741/1860). They made an attack in the north and captured five Spanish-Americans of the "Plasa de Guchupanque," killing another who was buried at Santa Clara on the 29th. The following day two Zia Indians were buried at their home pueblo, both victims of the Navajo war. Early in September two more Navajo children were baptized, one being adopted by an Anglo-American, James B. Woodson, and his Spanish-American wife, residents of Culebra in the Arroyo Hondo parish.

In late September the army finally took the field. By the end of the year seven expeditions had sent in reports that showed at least 23 Navajos killed, several captured and a quantity of livestock taken. At the same time the irregular forces continued to operate. The Utes made a successful attack in October, taking some prisoners. (NA, RWD, RG98, DNM, LR, C-53/1860 encl.) Late in October an unauthorized volunteer force invaded Navajo country and took about a hundred (Keleher, 1952, p. 107) Captives for servants or sale seem to have been one of the main objectives of these private expeditions and their success in this is reflected in the increasing numbers of Navajo baptisms. In October only two children identified as Navajo appear in the baptismal records. In November there are eleven. In December there are thirteen. In January there were fifteen and in February it was up to nineteen. The Navajos' offensive slowed as a result of this pressure and only one other burial was recorded during the war as a result of a Navajo attack, that at Alameda in the Albuquerque parish on November 26.

The army, under Colonel Canby, continued campaigning into February. During the early part of the year another seven columns returned, able to report four more Navajos killed, a few captives and some stock taken. The Zunis also sent out one or more war parties (McLaws to Rich, 16 Dec. 1860, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-12/1860; Canby to Asst. Adj. Gen., 4 Feb. 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-23/1861).

A partial armistice had been arranged about the middle of January (Canby to Asst. Adj. Gen., 14 Jan. 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-17/1861). As the troops still out returned and the Navajos came in to surrender, plans were made for a new treaty. The treaty was signed at Fort Fauntleroy (present day Fort Wingate) on February 15, 1861. No mention was made of captives held by either side, but the Navajos were promised protection and just treatment as long as they abided by the conditions imposed by the treaty. (Treaty of Feb. 15, 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-32/1861 encl.) Canby was sincere in his desire to protect the Navajos from the aggressions of their neighbors and proposed that Fort Fauntleroy and Fort Defiance be kept at their current strength to both protect the Navajos and prevent them from making raids. (Canby to Asst. Adj. Gen., 19 Feb. 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-32/1861; General Orders No. 14, 19 Feb. 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-32/1861 encl.)

Canby's first impressions seem to have been that keeping the Navajos in check would be his major problem, but he soon found that protecting the Navajos was to be at least as difficult. Only twelve days after signing the treaty he wrote:

I have had the honor in previous reports to suggest the danger to be apprehended in the permanent settlement of the Navajo difficulties from the unauthorized aggressions of the Mexican and Pueblo populations, and recent occurrences in this quarter induce me to recur to that subject.

- 1st. A party of 31 Mexicans from the neighborhood of Taos, who by their own statements had no complaints to make of the Navajoes, arrived here a few days since in a starving condition. In the course of their operations they had killed one man and six women and children and had captured four women. post subsistence was issued to them as a matter of humanity. Their prisoners were taken from them and have since been returned to their families. On their way to Fort Fauntleroy they committed wanton aggressions upon the property of Navajoes who have always been friendly. that post they received subsistence to carry them to the settlements, and ten of their number who from debility were unable to travel are now receiving subsistence and medical attendance. They openly avow their intention to disregard the treaty made with the Navajoes, and on their return home to organize a new expedition to capture Navajoes and sell them on the river.
- 2. The inhabitants of Cuvero express the same determination and a few days since, two Navajoes who had been permitted (after the treaty) to visit their relations in Sandoval's band were openly killed in the neighborhood of that place.
- 3. On the 24th inst. two Navajo guides in the service of the United States, and wearing distinctive marks, were fired upon and one of them killed and scalped by a party from Jemez. These and other occurrences of minor importance indicate

I think a settled disposition on the part of some of these people to protract the Navajo troubles indefinitely. (NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-1/1861 encl.)

In March the army learned of four more private expeditions, at least two of which carried off captives. (Canby to Asst. Adj. Gen., 11 March 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-40/1861; Wingate to Rich, 15 March 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-42/1861; Canby to Asst. Adj. Gen., 18 March 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-42/1861; Seward to Rich, 20 March 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR) Fort Defiance was being closed down and Canby's letter of March 18 reported difficulties which the single post at Fort Fauntleroy would hardly seem adequate to control:

I have the honor to report that the Navajo chiefs appear to be carrying out in good faith the conditions of the treaty, and I have no doubt of the permanent settlement of these troubles if the inroads of Mexicans can be restrained.

The Navajos report today another inroad by the Mexicans near the north-eastern extremity of the Tunicha Mountains in which the people of 15 rancherias were killed or carried off. The Navajos involved in this raid are of the families of Herrerro Grande, Vicente Baca and El Chapador, and it has happened unfortunately for our influence with these people that in this and the instance already reported many of the Navajoes belonging to these families were absent for the purpose of recovering stolen property.--- (Canby, 18 March 1861, supra.)

The baptisms of Navajos continued. In March only eight were recorded as Navajo, but in April there were twenty and in May sixteen. In June the number was down to five. The raids seem to have ceased, or at least slowed considerably. The treaty had not provided for the return of captives, however, and none of these later captives seem to have been returned. Whether this was a factor in the one Navajo attack recorded for this period is uncertain, but the Navajos were obviously out for revenge. They killed eight Spanish—Americans at a place called Torreon, four leagues from Luis

Lopez in the Socorro parish, on June 28. All appear to have been young men and may have been tending livestock at the time. They were buried at Socorro on June 30. This single outbreak did not set off a new war, however. Perhaps the raiders were reckoned to be "ladrones" outside the control of the headmen.

The Civil War was beginning and by the end of March officers from the south were resigning to join the Confederacy. The troops were suddenly in a disorganized state and Canby had little time for Indian affairs. (Bailey, 1964, pp. 139-40) For a while the initial efforts to establish a peace seem to have continued under the inertia of the initial impetus. Baptisms of Navajos were few, only five in July and two in August. At Fort Fauntleroy Lt. Col. Manuel Chavez, then commanding officer of that post, reported the return of twelve captives by the Navajos, ten Indian boys from Zia and two of those taken from Guchupanque a year earlier. He claimed that "the Indians shall never be in a better condition than they are at present for the establishment of a perpetual peace----" (Chavez to Canby, 22 Aug. 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-133/1861).

This was a precarious peace, however, and it was to be the army itself that shattered it. In September a dispute at Fort Wingate over bets on a horse race between a Navajo and an army officer led to the troops firing upon a large number of Indians, killing twelve to fifteen, including some women and children, who had come to watch the races. (Hodt to Cutler, 7 Sept. 1865, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, H-88/1865 encl.) On November 11 Chavez still reported that the Navajos were "in peace" (Chavez to Commander of the Dept., 11 Nov. 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-244/1861), but ten days before, an Isleta Indian who had been killed by Navajos on the Rio Puerco had been buried at Isleta. Baptisms of captives were also increasing and it would appear that slave raiders were taking advantage of the disorganized state of things to begin operations again. In September six Navajos appeared in the baptismal records, in October there were seven, by November the number was up to twelve. In November and December the Utes made two attacks upon the Navajos, killing four and taking ten captives in the first of these. (Chavez to Commander of the Dept., 11 Nov. 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-246/1861; Report of Julius C. Shaw, 14 Dec. 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, S-116/1861) Navajo baptisms continued to rise. December's records contained

twelve again, but in January the number was up to eighteen, although six of these were over twenty years old and may have been in captivity for some time.

In February the Confederate invasion of New Mexico reached its peak and all forts in Navajo country had been abandoned. (Bailey, 1964, pp. 141-42) The Civil War had disrupted even the slave raiders' operations. In that month only two Navajo children appear in the baptismal records. As the defeated Confederate army turned back toward Texas, however, the business began again. A letter written in May from Cubero reported:

For some time past, two months or more, parties of Mexicans from the Rio Grande and Ceboyeta, have been in the pursuit of Indians --- "kidnapping" Indian children and taking them to the river for sale. Several have been sold in this place for \$2 or \$300. It seems to be a thriving business with some persons. Followed up this policy exasperates the Navajoes, and certainly tends to aggrevate and complicate affairs between them and the ranch owners of the Rio Grande: causing the Indians to rob and steal cattle and sheep and horses and mules from innocent parties. is not believed by the Alcalde that the government sanctions this policy; and he wishes, therefore, to ascertain the advice of the proper authorities how he is to govern himself under the circumstances, there being no military authorities or Indian Agent at this Post.

In spite of this, the headmen were trying to keep their own people under control and asking that the government do the same. (Need to Commanding Officer, 16 May 1862, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, N-17/1862)

In spite of numerous assertions to the contrary, there would appear to be no solid evidence that the Navajos took advantage of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico to raid and plunder at will. Indeed, the reverse seems to be the case, that the New Mexicans took advantage of the situation to raid the Navajos in greater numbers. The Navajos were trying, with little success, to continue the peace established

by Canby's treaty.

In March the number of baptisms of Navajos began to increase again, with five, all children, recorded that month. Toward the end of the month some Navajos were taking vengeance. On the 20th a man who died of wounds inflicted by the Navajos was buried at San Ildefonso. Four Spanish-Americans of the Isleta parish were killed on March 26, apparently some distance from home, for they were not buried until ten days later. Another man who died after being wounded by the Navajos was buried at San Ildefonso on the 29th.

In April, fifteen Navajos were baptized. Two, a five-year-old girl and a seven-year-old boy, were "adopted" by Albert H. Pfeiffer, the Ute agent at Abiquiu. The headmen were having limited success controlling their people under existing conditions and Navajo raiders were striking a few blows. On April 4 three Spanish-American cowboys of the Socorro parish were buried at San Antonio. On the 10th a resident of the Abiquiu area was buried, having died as a result of wounds inflicted by Navajos.

In June seven Navajos were baptized. In July the number was up to thirteen. In August it dropped to eight and the same number appear in September. That month the Navajos were again in the field and they killed two men in the Abiquiu area who were buried on the 8th. The next day a sheepherder was killed at Vermijo and he was buried at Las Vegas on the 15th.

The baptisms continued: six in October, five in November and eight in December. The Navajo warriors ended the year with one more successful attack, killing a Spanish-American man who was buried in the Abiquiu parish on December 24. J. G. Knapp, writing at Fort Union that month, described the wars between the Indians and the Spanish-Americans as "a hostility which will exist so long as Indian captives are bought and sold---." (Knapp to Commissioner of Ind. Affairs, 5 Dec. 1862, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, K-186/1862)

By 1863 the Navajos were already a defeated people, but the government refused to recognize its responsibility as victor and the slave raids continued. The occasional retaliations by Navajo warriors were but feeble protests to

the situation. General Carleton, in command of New Mexico, wished to remove all the Navajos to Fort Sumner. Navajos were not willing that the entire tribe be taken away into captivity, but knew that they could not fight another In April Barboncito told Carleton "that he would not go so far from his country but would remain with his family ---- and that he did not intend to fight even if he were to be attacked by the troops - they might kill him but he would not run." (Chavez to Collins, 4 May 1863, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, C-264/1863 encl.) Kit Carson set out from Los Lunas to begin his Navajo campaign on July (Copies of Correspondence of the Navajo Expedition, Library of Cong., p. 2) From the beginning of the year until the start of the campaign at least 43 Navajos were baptized, most of them young children. There is no need here to retrace the many movements of troops and other hostile parties through Navajo country, nor to detail the Navajos efforts at flight and final surrender, except to note that private expeditions were bringing back captives for sale in large numbers, in spite of official efforts to get all the Navajos to the reservation at Fort Sumner on the Pecos River. For the second half of 1863 the number of baptisms rose to 69. Carson himself held two Navajos who had been baptized on December 23, 1860 at Taos and he had little concern for the problem.

Michael Steck, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico, was aware of the situation and realized its seriousness. In January 1864 he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

Your letter dated December 23d 1863 enclosing a communication from Lieut. Col. Saml. F.

Tappan commanding Ft. Garland, to the Hon.

Charles Sumner relative to the enslaving of Navajo Indians in New Mexico is before me. In reply I would state that the letter referred to exposes clearly and truthfully the condition of about two thousand Indians in N. Mexico, belonging principally to the Navajo tribe, but including also Apaches, Pah Utahs, and Pueblos.

I agree with him also as to the bad influence the traffic in Navajo children has had upon that tribe, and that no permanent peace can be had with them as long as this evil is permitted. The Navajos are a powerful tribe, and are noted for their ingenuity and industry. They cultivate wheat and corn extensively, manufacture excellent blankets, and own large herds of sheep. And if properly treated it can certainly be made their interest to cease marauding, and remain at peace in their own country, they having much to lose in the event of a protracted war. They will not, however, be controlled while their children are stolen, bought, and sold by our people.

Of the probable number, two thousand, now in the hands of the people of New Mexico, many have been captured recently, while others have served from childhood to old age; it is therefore an evil that has existed for many years. The price that has usually been paid for captives is about \$100, but frequently after becoming domesticated, they sell much higher. They are usually adopted into the family, baptized, and brought up in the Catholic faith, and given the name of the owner's family, generally become faithful and trustworthy servants, and sometimes are married to the native New Mexican.

There is no law of the Territory that legalizes the sale of Indians, yet it is done almost daily, without an effort to stop it. (Steck to Dole, 13 Jan. 1864, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, S-234/1864)

Toward the end of February the army tried to collect all the Navajos held as peons in Cebolleta and neighboring towns. They collected 95 who were sent on to Fort Sumner, but felt that there were others hidden by their owners from the troops. (Campbell to Carleton, 3 March 1864, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, 525-C-46/1864) Even this did not halt the trade in captives and during the year there were 159 baptisms recorded as Navajo. One of these, who had been held in Kit Carson's household several years, was baptized at Taos on September 9. This was the peak year for the baptism of Navajo captives and the number gradually diminished in the following years. With many Navajos at Fort Sumner, there were fewer to be taken and the government began to exert more pressure to stop the capture and sale of Indians. The number of baptisms remained high during the years the Navajos

were at Fort Sumner: 82 in 1865, 56 in 1866; 47 in 1868. The slow process of the government's bureaucracy was working to liberate the captives, however. In 1865 it was estimated that there were between 5,000 and 6,000 Navajos held as slaves. (Young, 1958, p. 260) This is much higher than the number of baptisms would seem to indicate, but other factors must be taken into consideration. Large numbers of captives were baptized and their baptismal records identify them merely as "Indian." In addition, more Navajos were taken captive in the 1860's than in any earlier period of equal length for which data are available. There is no way of determining how many of these were not baptized except by guess.

In June 1865 President Johnson ordered the slave trade in Indian captives suppressed. (Reeve, 1938, p. 19)

In July a Navajo woman held near Bernalillo was discovered by an army officer. Capt. McCabe was sent to investigate and his report of his interview with the woman through an interpreter shows much about the trade in captives:

Question. Where were you taken prisoner?

Answer. At the Casa Blanca near Moqui.

Question. Who took you prisoner?

Answer. An armed party of Mexicans from Cevolleta who attacked our camp at daybreak, killed seven men and took twelve women and children prisoners.

Question. Where are the others who were taken the same time with yourself?

Answer. My two sisters were taken and sold at the Ranchos of Atrisco and I heard that the others have been sold near Isleta or below on the river.

Question. Where do you wish to go to, if you are allowed to choose for yourself?

Answer. If I am free to choose I would prefer to go to the Bosque Redondo, as now nearly all of my relations are living there, and I wish to see my uncle Herrera Grande, who is living there.

- Question. Where are they planting corn -- name the places?
- Answer. Few are planting, they are afraid; but those who are planting have gone still further back in the neighborhood of water -- towards the Moqui villages. Many would start for the Bosque but are afraid of falling in with roving bands of Mexicans that are passing through the country.

- Question. Were you speaking to an American some days ago at Bernalillo?
- Answer. Yes, eight days ago an American was speaking to me, when some wagons passed by the same time. He had a carriage and the people who kept me prisoner denied that I was a Navajoe prisoner.
- Question. Did you tell this American that you were escaped from Bosque Redondo?
- Answer. No. I was crying and talking, but we could not understand each other.

It is evident from the examination that <u>Capt</u>. Calloway was mistaken when he stated that this woman had escaped from the reservation; but whether the parties who captured her had a right to sell her or not is a question respectfully submitted for the consideration of the General Commanding.

It is certain that her case is a sad one and would excite the sympathy of any person not dead to the nobler feelings of humanity. That she has suffered hard treatment from her last owner I do not at all doubt, and she is still inconsolable for the loss of her three small children, one of whom was killed and two others captured when she was taken. Subsequent to the above examination the interpreter stated that the woman said she had been brutally beaten by the person who kept her prisoner & also by his wife.

The only hope she has is that the General Commanding will order that she be sent to Bosque Redondo where she can live with some of her relatives, and that her sisters who are held as prisoners at some distance below this place be sent there with her. I have never seen a case before in which my sympathies were so deeply enlisted and none which in my opinion is more deserving the attention of the General Commanding the Department.

The woman who is unusually intelligent says that many of the wandering Navajoes now roaming in the Navajoe country would voluntarily surrender, if they did not dread falling in with armed parties of citizens from whom they expect no mercy.

From all I can learn there were no other captive Indians near Bernalillo except some captives living at the residence of Hon. S. A. Hubbell who have been captured several years ago, and the judge says that they could not be induced to leave his service voluntarily. (Report of McCabe, 9 July 1865, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, Mc-104/1865 encl.)

When the final treaty was made with the Navajos at Fort Sumner in 1868 the subject of the captives was again brought up by the headmen. Barboncito's discussion of this with General Sherman is of value in showing the importance the Navajos placed on this issue:

Barboncito said:

That is the way I like to be and return the Commissioners my best thanks. After we get back to our country it will brighten up again and the Navajoes will be as happy as the land. Black clouds will rise and there will be plenty of rain. Corn will grow in abundance, and everything look happy. Today is a day that anything black or red does not look right; everything should be white or yellow representing the flower and the corn. I want to drop this conversation now and talk about Navajo

children held as prisoners by Mexicans. Some of those present have lost a brother or a sister and I know that they are in the hands of Mexicans. I have seen some myself.

General Sherman said:

About their children being held as peons by Mexicans, you ought to know that there is an Act of Congress against it. About four years ago we had slaves and there was a great war about it, now there are none. Congress our great council passed a law prohibiting peonage in New Mexico, so that if any Mexican holds a Navajo in peonage he (the Mexican) is liable to be put in the penitentiary. We do not know that there are any Navajos held by Mexicans as peons, but if there are, you can apply to the judges of the Civil Courts and the Land Commissioners. They are the proper persons, and they will decide whether the Navajo is to go back to his own people or remain with the Mexican. That is a matter with which we have nothing to do. What do you say about schools, blacksmith and carpenter shops for the purpose of teaching your children?

Barboncito said:

We would like to have a blacksmith shop as a great number of us can work at the trade; we would like a carpenter's shop and if a school was established among us I am satisfied a great number would attend it. I like it very well. Whatever orders you leave here you may rely upon their being obeyed.

General Sherman said:

Whatever we promise to do you can depend upon its being done.

Colonel Samuel F. Tappan asked:

How many Navajoes are among the Mexicans now?

Answer. Over half of the tribe.

Question. How many have returned within the five years?

Answer. Cannot tell.

General Sherman said:

We will do all we can to have your children returned to you. Our government is determined that the enslavement of the Navajoes shall cease and those who are guilty of holding them as peons shall be punished. All are free now in this country to go and come as they please. If children are held in peonage the courts will decide. You can go where any Navajoes are and General Getty will give you an order or send a soldier, and if the Navajo peon wishes to go back or remain he can please himself. We will not use force, the courts must decide. (Proceedings of a Council, 29 May 1868, NA, RG-48, Treaties File, Treaty No. 372)

No specific mention was made of the captives in the treaty itself. (Treaty of June 1, 1868, NA, OSI, ID, RG 48, Treaties File, No. 372) In August, Special Indian Agent John Ward proposed that a board of officers be appointed to adjudicate claims for children held as servants. Ward's primary concern was that Navajos who wished to remain not be returned to the tribe. (Ward to Tappan, 4 Aug. 1868, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, W-1157/1868)

Raiding for new captives had nearly stopped. Twenty-one Navajos were baptized in 1868 after the treaty and there were seventeen Navajo servants baptized in both 1869 and 1870, but most of these were in their teens or older and had probably been held since prior to the treaty. At least one Navajo child was taken captive in 1869 (Clinton to Parker, 31 March 1870, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, C-1179/1870; Bennett to Clinton, 19 Aug. 1870, in Ann. Report of the Comm. of Ind. Affairs, 1870, p. 151) and while this may not have been the only case of this sort, the efforts of the government to suppress the taking of captives were apparently having some effect. The law of supply and demand may also have had a bearing on the situation, the large number of captives already held leaving few people who would want to purchase new captives.

In August 1870 Major Bennett submitted his second

annual report as Navajo agent and summarized his efforts up to that time to obtain the release of Navajos held as servants:

I would also state that several cases of Navajo children held as peons by the Mexicans have been reported to me by the Indians, and I am convinced that this is the case, as I know of several instances where chiefs. accompanied by the parents, have endeavored to recover their children, but have been interrupted in so doing by the Mexicans, they, in most cases, not being allowed to even talk to their children. Although this is directly contrary to existing laws, I am convinced that any litigation would go against the Navajoes, as the local civil authorities in all of the Mexican settlements are so prejudiced against them that justice could not be had, and the Navajoes believe and appreciate that their only friends are the military and other government representatives. nestly request that, if possible, some steps be taken to do away with this system of peonage and have the children that are held against their will returned to their parents, as the Navajoes love their children and I think (and they claim) that they are entitled to them the same as any other race of people. As long as peonage is allowed it will be the cause of a great deal of trouble. In January I sent Lieutenant Ford, special agent, down into the Mexican settlements to try, if possible, to get a settlement or at least some kind of satisfaction in these cases. In June I went on the same business, but in both of our trips we were entirely unsuccessful, the Mexicans not showing the first sign of a disposition to settle a single case or attempt to bring to justice any of the guilty parties. They appeared to be afraid to even give evidence or assistance of any kind, a great many apparently fearing that they might implicate themselves. --- (Bennett, 1870, supra, pp. 151-52)

The number of baptisms continued to decline, there being

nine in 1871 and six in 1872, most, if not all of these, being old enough to have been captives for several years.

In 1872 General O. O. Howard arranged a meeting between the Navajos and Western Apaches. Manuelito was spokesman for the Navajos and in his talks with General Howard his only concern was for the Navajo children still held by the Spanish-Americans. According to Manuelito:

We have found many of our children among the Mexicans. Many of our families here have children in New Mexico. We saw many of our children wherever we went, and the children want to return. They tell them we kill them, and work silver mines with their land. They don't believe anything told them, and want to return. I want you, Genl. Howard, to do all you can to get them back.

Genl. Howard. How did they get the children?

Manuelito. You know very well how they come to be there. When this world was dark with dirt and sand flying, and the stones were raised by the wind, and all were fighting with the Government and themselves, you know very well how this thing happened. When all the nations came against us, then we lost our children (eight years ago). (NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, P-102/1872)

In 1872 a number of captives did return to their people. United States officials thought that most of an increase of 880 in the Navajo population during that year to have been due to those who returned. (Report of the Comm. of Ind. Affairs, 1872). The number of captives baptized remained low; eight in 1873, one in 1874, four in 1875 and one in 1876, although the records for the latter year were not searched thoroughly. The slave trade had ended, the Navajo wars were over and at least some of the captives were returning to their own homes and families.

The effort to justly handle the cases of captives was to continue for several years. In 1877 Navajo Agent Alexander G. Irvine wrote:

U. S. Statute some ten years or more but to all intents and purposes it still exists in some remote portions of the Territory.

Navajoe Indians especially women are held as servants all over New Mexico and southern Colorado receiving no compensation for their services except board and clothing. Whenever an Indian from the tribe comes near and wishes to communicate with them the people they are living with prevent access to them and by false reports of the condition in which the Indians live and the purpose for which they are wanted by their tribe so work upon the fears of the captives that they are afraid to return. --- (Irvine to Smith, Mar. 28, 1877, NA, RG 75, LR, #3490)

As the years passed the problem of adequately identifying the captives increased and the captives' alienation from their own society became greater. Appropriations were never sufficient to allow the proper investigation of all such cases. (Irvine, supra.)

As late as 1884 the agents at Fort Defiance were issuing passes to Navajos to go in search of children they had lost during the wars. (Bowan to Whom It May Concern, Aug. 14, 1884, Ft. Defiance Letterbooks, FD-5, pp. 226-27)

Many captives remained among the Spanish-Americans. As late as 1907 it was reported that "pure-blooded Navajos who pass for Mexicans are still to be found in these communities." (Bartlett, 1907, p. 30) Descendants of the captives still live in many Spanish-American villages today.

Certain conclusions seem clear on the basis of this summary of the history of the Navajos taken captive in New Mexico. It is clear that the trade in captives was not the only causative factor in the Navajo wars. It was not a factor in the renewal of warfare after 50 some years of peace in the 1700's, but as the wars continued and the number of captives increased, it became increasingly important both as a cause of warfare and as a preventive of any stable peace.

The peak period of taking Navajo captives for use or

sale as servants began during Canby's Navajo campaign in 1860 and continued through the Fort Sumner exile, to about 1868. A total of 819 baptisms of people who are identifiable as Navajo and who can be reasonably considered to have been captives is found in the baptismal books after 1859. a conservative estimate that at least twice as many were identified merely as "Indian" in the baptismal records, which would give a total of at least 2457 Navajos held as servants during the 1860's who were baptized. A test sample, the baptisms at Tomé for the period 1847-68, revealed that only 20% of the entries for captives gave tribal origins. low proportion would doubtless hold true in some other parishes, but probably not all. How many do not appear in the baptismal records of the Catholic Church, either because they were recorded in books that could not be located. because they returned to their people before baptism or because they were held by non-Catholics, is unknown. Many of the leading office-holders in New Mexico held captives (Reeve, 1938, p. 18) and many of these were Anglo-Americans, few of whom were Catholics. Some captives were doubtless kept by the non-Christian tribes that took part in the wars. Contemporary estimates of the number of Navajos held captive are sufficiently high to believe that the number would be in the hundreds at least and a figure of 1,000 for the three categories together does not seem excessive. figures are of considerable importance for any attempts to estimate the Navajo population during the early American period. Most such estimates are based upon the greatest number of Navajos held at Fort Sumner at any one time, which was 8,570 (NA, RWD, DNM, Misc. Doc., Mis. 191 R-24/ 1865), plus the number of Navajos estimated to still be free in Navajo country. For the latter figure estimates ranged from as low as 300 to as high as 4,000. (Littell and Graham, 1964, pp. 18-19.) As this figure came to be of some importance in the political arguments over the advisability of continuing the use of Fort Sumner as the Navajo Reservation, exaggerations at both extremes are to be expected and a conservative solution to the problem would be to take the difference between the two or an estimate of about 2000. The number of Navajos held as captives by the New Mexicans as private citizens should also be included with those held by the government at Fort Sumner. In addition, the slave raids that brought back these captives resulted in the deaths of many Navajos, few of whom would be counted in the official listings of Navajo casualties during the wars. Only 203 Navajo deaths due to expeditions operating against the

tribe are recorded in the official correspondence dating from 1860 to 1868, although others are mentioned in non-specific terms such as "some" or "many," while deaths due to wounds, sickness or starvation caused by the wars are generally unreported. Unreported deaths were probably at least twice the number of reported deaths. Use of this figure assumes that the number of natural deaths would about balance the number of births under normal conditions. A calculation of Navajo population for the early 1860's would then be about as follows:

Captive at Fort Sumner - 8,570
Captives held elsewhere - Ca. 3,457
Navajos still free - Ca. 2,000
Navajos who died in wars - Ca. 609

TOTAL

Since there is probably some duplication of individuals appearing in these various categories and the figures themselves are estimates at best, a round figure of about 14,000 for the Navajo population about 1860 is indicated.

14,636

Chapter V

Conditions of Life for the Navajo Captives

Contemporary statements describing the status of Indian captives held as servants by the New Mexicans differ greatly. Some paint a rosy picture, suggesting that the captives "never had it so good", while others present just the opposite view. It is probable that political considerations and the writers' own views as to the propriety of holding Indian slaves influenced these writings, but it is also likely that conditions varied greatly depending upon the owners of captives.

Perhaps the most favorable description is that dictated by a New Mexican slave trader protesting his prosecution by Mormon authorities when caught buying Paiute children in Utah, but it contains revealing inconsistencies:

He contends he has the right by custom to trade for the Payutah children - He gave the parents horses which were killed for food - The parents gave the children but not for slaves - they are adopted into the family of those who get them, are baptized and remain & trusted as one of the family - The head of the house standing as Godfather. The Prefect has the right to free them whenever maltreated. The Indian has a right to choose a guardian - Women are freed whenever married - say from 14 to 16 - Men ditto from 18 to 20 - At the death of Godfather never sold - always freed.

The Godfathers provide husbands and wives for them the same as their own children - When the Godfather dies they are free - As soon as they are baptized they cannot be sold any more than the Mexican children - It would be contrary to the laws of the Church - They are no Peons - they have no debts to work out. They first learn to talk - then the Lords Prayer - then Baptized and adopted.

There is no Mexican law on the subject - only custom. (Hafen & Hafen, 1954, pp. 273-74)

John Ward was not strongly against the keeping of Indian slaves and his description would suggest that the captives were generally well treated:

Agreeable to the usual practice of the people of this territory; these captives when first brought in, are baptized, many of them have been in the settlements for many years and have even forgotten their own dialect and have adopted the habits and customs of the people. They are regarded in high estimation by the people, as they invariably make the best kind of house servants, being honest and obedient in most cases. Many of them having also become much attached to the citizens, particularly to those by whom they have been well treated. (Ward to Tappan, 4 August 1868, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, W-1157/1868)

Capt. H. B. Bristol reported, "Some families abuse them, while others treat them like their own children." (Condition of the Indian Tribes, 1865, p. 357.)

According to Chief Justice Kirby Benedict:

The Indian persons obtained in any of the modes mentioned are treated by those who claim to own them as their servants and slaves. They are bought and sold by and between the inhabitants at a price as much as is a horse or an ox.... When they grow to womanhood they sometimes become mothers from the natives of the land, with or without marriage. Their children, however, by the custom of the country, are not regarded as property which may be bought or sold as have been their mothers. They grow up and are treated as having the rights of citizens. They marry and blend with the general populations. (Young, 1958, pp. 259-60)

An anonymous observer in 1852 described the condition of recent captives in these terms:

I have seen frequently little children from 18 months to 6 years old, led around the

country like beasts, by a Mexican who had probably stolen them from their mother not more than a week, and offered for sale for from 40 to 120 dollars. (Reeve, 1952, p. 99, n. 56)

Perhaps one of the most extreme judgments was that of Dr. Louis Kennon, who wrote, "I have been conversant with the institution of slavery in Georgia, but the system is worse here, there being no obligation to care for the slave when he becomes old and worthless." (Ibid., p. 260)

The baptismal and burial records shed some light upon the general conditions under which these captives lived. That there were individual cases that approached both extremes is quite certain and the following data must be considered as merely indicating average conditions. The data analyzed here pertain only to the Navajo captives.

First the data available in the primary records must be considered. These, having been made shortly after the Navajos had been made captive, give little specific information with regard to their lives in captivity, but do show the nature of the social controls involved in the keeping of slaves. Since officially it was illegal to hold Indian slaves, there were no laws designed to protect them as such. Removed from their own society, they could no longer rely upon the support of relatives to defend their interests. In this seeming vacuum the church provided the strongest institutionalized control. The church was a sufficiently separate institution from the state, even under the Spanish regime, that it could play this role with limited conflict of interest. One of the primary interests of the church in New Mexico was the conversion of Indians. The church was too closely associated with the government to be able to convert Indians who were not actually under Spanish rule. Since neither Spain nor Mexico were ever able to effectively conquer many of the tribes surrounding the settlements, the priests generally had to content themselves with the few individuals who came under Spanish control by various means. The few exceptions to this were of short duration and the usual way by which individual converts could be made was by their being held as slaves by the Christians. By refusing to admit that these people were slaves and by viewing the situation primarily as one conducive to the making of converts, the clergy found the

practice acceptable and even desirable from their point of view. Even the priests held captives as servants. The church also found it necessary to impose the sanctions that would lead to sufficiently fair treatment of the slaves that they would remain good Christians once converted. These were, except perhaps in the most flagrant cases of abuse, merely moral sanctions and the degree to which they were effective probably varied greatly.

Most captives were in the possession of the white settlers, even though often baptized in mission churches. At times it was illegal to sell captives to Pueblo Indians or for Pueblo Indians to hold these captives, the reason given being the "spiritual detriment" resulting to the captives. (NMSRCA, SA 378, Auto of Cruzat y Gongora, 6 Dec. 1732)

First was the act of baptism itself. This made the captive a fellow Christian with his masters and due a certain degree of consideration. It also gave the captive one or more ceremonial relatives, his godparents. Two items in the baptismal entries give some slight insight into the role that baptism played in what was usually the initial formal recognition of the captive's status and relationship to the community. These are the status ascribed to him by the writer of the entry, either the priest or a scribe working under the priests' direction, and the identity of the godparents.

Table 7 gives the distribution of the various descriptive terms appearing in the primary baptismal entries. The terms are not mutually exclusive and any two or more may appear in the same entry, although most entries contain only one. The phraseology that was used was largely a decision of the priest and his scribe and a high degree of consistency in the use of the same terms in most entries signed by any one priest was noted. One priest would consistently label the captives as adopted, while another would consistently refer to them as servants. When the captive had been acquired as a result of an exchange, as was frequently the case, one priest would consider this a purchase, another that the captive had been "ransomed" or "redeemed". doubtful that the status and conditions of life varied greatly as a result of these distinctions, but they may reflect to some degree the way in which the priests viewed the situation and the sort of moral leadership they gave

regarding treatment of the captives. The higher proportion of captives listed as "adopted", though this was doubtless something of a legal fiction, shows that the clergy as a whole expected the owners of Indian servants to treat them at least as well as a stepchild. It is significant, however, that the next most common description utilized was "servant". The status of the captives was an anomalous one and not clearly defined.

It is also notable that few of the owners of the captives were their actual captors. Most had been acquired by a purchase of some sort and the few where the Navajo was described as the captive of the owner were generally held by soldiers. It is thus evident that the sale of captives was an important factor in the slave complex.

The godparent system extends kin obligations beyond those of actual blood kin and increases the number of people to whom a person may turn for aid. It could, by giving these ceremonial kin to captives, increase their ties within the Spanish-American society and establish a mild system of checks and balances that would help to prevent excesses in their treatment.

An analysis of the persons who acted as godparents (Table 8) shows that in about a quarter of the baptisms one or both godparents were the same as the captives' owners and in another 42% one or both godparents had surnames suggesting relationship to the owners. A large number of the entries give only the names of the godparents. Whether this may be accepted as indicating that the owners and godparents were the same is not certain and these have not been included in the tabulation. In addition, however, about 12½ of the baptismal entries for Navajo captives list only one godparent. It is apparent from these figures that the fullest possible use of the godparent system to give an interest in the welfare of the captives to a number of individuals was not made, but that in many cases it did serve in some degree to effect this.

Two kinds of secondary entries, the baptismal records of children born to the captives and the burial records of captives, tell more about the actual conditions of life of the captives.

The baptismal records of children born to captives

	Adopted	Servant	General Term	rm Indicating Possession	Power of or Dominion of	Redeemed or Ransomed	Purchased	Captive
Decade	Ador	Ser	Gene	Term	In I	Rede	Purc	Capt
1760's	_	1	-	-	-	_	-	-
1770's	_	1	1	2	1	-	6	-
1780's	-	2	-	1	1	_	2	-
1790's	-	-	-	-	W-1	-	-	-
1800's	-	3	1	-	-	-	1	-
1810's	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
1820's	40	1.5	58	13		14	54	1
1830's	-	8	9	3	1	2	2	-
1840's	17	42	11	18	-	18	8	1
1850's	1	4	15	1	1.2	1	5	-
1860's	314	161	85	87	26	1	63	5
1870's	22	1	3	9	1	-	-	-
TOTALS	394	239	184	134	30	36	141	7

Table 7. Status attributed to Navajo captives in their baptismal entries.

Decade	Both godparents same as owners	One godparent same; other with same sur- name as one of owners	One godparent same; no evidence other related	Godparents different; but both with same surnames	Godparents different but one with same surname as owners	Both godparents with surnames different from owners	
1760's		-		_	-	1	
1770's	1	100	2	_	-	5	
1780's	12	1	-		-	1	
1790's	-	-	-			2	
1800's	1	-	-	10 miles	-	4	
1810's	1	-	-	- 1	1	1	
1820's	26	5	29	9	46	55	
1830's	3	2	3	1	4	8	
1840's	8	3	12	9	24	25	
1850's	1	-	1	2	4	10	
1860's	64	28	56	103	213	221	
1870's	3	1-1	3	3	10	15	
TOTALS	107	39	106	127	302	346	
1 - 1 - 1 - 2 - 1		252		(X) - P.			
		681					
		1027					
			-				

Table 8. Identity and relation of godparents to owners as revealed in baptismal entries for Navajo servants that give the names of both.

show in what proportion they were able to become parents of children under circumstances accepted as legitimate in the society in which they were living. Of 160 births to parents, one or both of whom were identified as Navajo, there were only 25 legitimate offspring and 135 illegitimate. It is readily apparent that the conditions of life for the captives were of a nature to make marriage difficult and conducive to sexual relations outside of marriage. A comparison of these data on the basis of the sex of the Navajo parent is even more revealing. Of all Navajo captives, 40% were male and 60% female, yet of the few legitimate births recorded with Navajo captives as parents, only 5 had a Navajo mother and 21 had a Navajo father, the difference from the total number of births being due to the fact that the one birth for which both parents were Navajos is included in this group. It is thus apparent that while no captive had a good chance of achieving a socially recognized marriage, the male captives had a considerably better chance than did the female.

The baptismal records identify the father in so few cases when the child was illegitimate that there is no way of determining whether Navajo or other Indian captives were frequently the fathers of children born to unwed Navajo mothers, although it would seem logical to expect that they would be in many instances. The limited contemporary documentation (see above) and some modern tradition credit the Spanish-American masters with being fathers quite frequently. This was also undoubtedly true in some cases, but the impression that this was always the case is undoubtedly an exaggeration, perhaps a result of the Latin machismo complex.

In Sonora Indian women taken captive were frequently married to or became concubines of old men. (Dobyns, Ezell, Jones and Ezell, 1957, p. 55) This custom also obtained among the neighboring Pimans and Yumans. (Ibid., p. 51) Since this feature among the Spaniards seems to be localized in Sonora, it may well be an example of diffusion from the Indians to the Spaniards. The Yumans, at least, had both religious and political reasons for the custom. (Ibid.), although it may not have originated among them until after the development of the slave complex under Spanish influence. Such data as exist for the New Mexicans suggest that slave women, when they were exploited sexually, were generally so used by the younger men.

One fact is apparent from these entries, however.

Navajos were permitted to marry while still held as servants
by Spanish-Americans. Most of the marriages are between

Navajo men and Spanish-American (or mestizo?) women.

Theoretically, a captive gained freedom by marrying. (Hafen & Hafen, 1954, p. 274) This naturally would give the owners strong motivation for preventing marriage and the small number of marriages that resulted is doubtless indicative of successful efforts on the part of owners to prevent their slaves from marrying. The degree of formal control that the owners had in this matter is not known, but whatever pressures they brought to bear were apparently effective. Social attitudes were perhaps of primary importance and the stigma attached to marrying a captive may have been sufficient to discourage such marriages.

One bit of evidence as to how the captives regarded their masters appears in these entries. It is highly probable that a captive who became a parent was allowed to choose the godparents of the child, at least in most cases. The most likely exceptions to this would be in choosing the godparents of children born to Navajos who had not been in captivity very long. Well over half of the captives chose godparents for whom no evidence of relationship to their owners is apparent (Table 9), which contrasts strongly with the godparents of the captives themselves, of whom only about a third fall into this category. Even more striking is the comparison at the other end of the scale of relation-Whereas about 10% of the captives had both owners as godparents and another 14% had one owner as a godparent, the captives' children had less than 1% (one case only) with both godparents being the same as the parents' owners and less than 7% where this was the case with one godparent.

The burial records for captives give data on their longevity and their social and economic status.

Longevity in captivity is difficult to assess since all of the captives had spent a portion of their lives as free people in their own tribes. Identification of specific individual captives as the same between baptismal and burial entries is an uncertain procedure except in a few cases, so that the length of time in captivity for a specific individual cannot be easily determined. Of the burial entries which give some indication of age, seventy-two were under

	BOTH GODPARENTS SAME AS PARENTS' OWNERS	ONE GODPARENT SAME; OTHER WITH SAME SURNAME	ONE GODPARENT SAME; NO EVIDENCE OTHER RELATED	GODPARENTS DIFFERENT; BUT BOTH WITH SAME SURNAMES AS OWNERS	GODPARENTS DIFFERENT; BUT ONE WITH SAME SURNAME AS OWNERS	BOTH GODPARENTS WITH SURNAMES DIFFERENT FROM OWNERS		
S	1	2	5	15	30	60		
1		8						
A			53					
E		113						
0	Table	of Na capti	vajo capt ves. Com	f the godp ives to th pare with wners.	e owners	children of the Godparent		

DECADES	100	BAPTISMS OF CAPTIVES		BURIALS OF CAPTIVES
	- 1			
1700-09	- 2	3		1
1710-19		# 1 to 100 TO		
1720-29		4 F 1 137 231	1	
1730-39				1(?)
1740-49				2
1750-59		1	,	_
1760-69		3		
1770-79		22	1	4
1780-89		6		2
1790-99			1	1
1800-09		7		2
1810-19		4	1	전 [전조] 전투 : - 1 나는 [4]
1820-29		254	,	64
1830-39		43		19
1840-49		99	,	18
1850-59		27		4
1860-69		773	1	49
1870-75		46		14

Table 10. Comparison of numbers of baptisms of Navajo captives with the numbers of burials, by decade.

seven years old and eighty-eight were seven years or older. Even lacking figures with a better control of the data, it is apparent that the life expectancy of a captive was not great and probably well below the life expectancy of people living within their own society. That the highest mortality rates were during a short period following their capture is indicated by a comparison of the baptisms with burials. (See Table 10)

The sex of captives shows a definite shift from the 40%-60% in the baptisms. (Table 11) In the burials only about 33% are males. A tabulation by sex and age shows that this difference is entirely due to a lower proportion of deaths among males over 7 years old. If this were due only to the fact that fewer adult males were taken captive the percentages for the totals should not be affected. This may be related to the fact that a higher proportion of male captives were able to enter into socially recognized marriages and suggests that they were more able to escape the conditions imposed upon captives generally, to the extent that by the

	MALE		FEMALE	TOTALS	
Parbulos	29	40%-60%	43	72	
Adultos	23	26%-74%	65	88	
TOTALS	52	33%-67%	108	160	

Table 11. Burial records of Navajo Captives by Age and Sex.

time they were buried they might not be labeled by tribe or even as Indian. It should be noted that at the time of their deaths, only nine of these Navajos were listed as married, six of whom were men and three women.

Information as to whether the deceased received the last sacraments prior to death was not consistently given in the burial entries, but appears in 45 of the entries for Navajo captives. Of these, 30 did receive the last sacraments and 15 did not. While these figures suggest that the proportion of captives who did not receive the last sacraments was somewhat higher than for the general population, exact figures for comparison are not available. This opinion is based upon a general impression gained while searching the burial records, but the proportion should not be considered excessively high. Of those who did not receive the last sacraments, five died under circumstances which the priest considered sufficient to excuse the lack, four lack any explanation and six were said to have lacked the sacraments merely because the priest was not called.

The cost of funeral services was sometimes recorded with the burial entries. These varied according to the degree of elaboration of the ceremonies and are some index of the amount the owners of captives were willing to spend on the captives or of the value of the captives own estates, but probably generally the former. These data are available in 22 of the burial entries ranging in date from 1826 to 1872. The costs varied from as low as four reales for one "adulta" buried at Santa Cruz in 1847 to as high as eight "pesos de la tierra" for a 19-year-old man at Santa Cruz in 1826, and may be summarized as follows:

COST	NUMBER OF FUNERALS
8 pesos	1
4 pesos, 2 reales	1
4 pesos	7
2 pesos, 2 reales	1
2 pesos	3
1 peso, 2 reales	2
1 peso	1
10 reales	2
6 reales	1
5 reales	2
4 reales	1

It thus appears that somebody in Spanish-American society, in most if not all cases the owner of the servant, was willing to pay funeral expenses when they died, but that the average funeral for a captive was a simple and inexpensive affair. None were noted as burials performed "de limosna", as an act of charity by the priests, except for two cases, one where the deceased seems to have been a child of captives, although the entry is somewhat ambiguous, and another in 1778, which was the burial of a married woman, presumably no longer in servant status.

There are also 19 records that are clearly the entries of burials of children of Navajo captives. Except for two where no hint as to the age of the deceased is given, all were very young children. None were listed as "de limosna". Only three contain mention of the amount paid for the funerals; these being 2 pesos 2 reales in 1846, \$1.50 in 1869 and \$1.00 in 1871. These three were all children of unwed mothers. It is not stated whether the mothers paid these costs themselves or their owners did so.

These data clearly establish that the captives occupied an inferior position in Spanish-American society and that escape from this position was difficult, but not impossible, men having a better chance to do so than women.

It has been noted in passing above that some of the owners of these captives were men of prominence in New Mexico and included among them priests, governors and military leaders. As many of the captives were obtained by their ultimate owners by purchase, it might be expected that more were held by the more wealthy families. An analysis of the numbers owned by specific individuals is possible from the baptismal records, but does not show the total number held due to the facts that only slave owners who held captives identified by tribe are included and that many entries fail to identify the owners specifically. Figures for the following conclusions are based on entries for the 19th century only.

Reference to Tables 12 and 13 shows that the majority of households which included Navajo captives had only one Navajo and that most did not include other captives from different tribes.

No. of Navajo Captives	No. of Households	cap	tives	hous of o	ther	tribe	s,
or distribution	<u> 1812 - 1</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	633	25	7	5	-	-	-
2	111	17	3	-	-	-	1
3	27	3	4	2	-	2	4
4	12	2	-	-	-	1	, ÷.
5	6	-	-	-	1	, Z	ing 13
6	3	1	1	-	-		
7	1	1	1	-	-	- 1	
8	1			_	101	1.51	25.5

Table 12. Number of Navajo captives for households, 19th century.

TOTAL CAPTIVES

No. of Captives	No. of Households
1	596
2	115
3	42
4	20
5	12
6	3
7	1
8	4
9	1

Table 13. Total number of captives in households having Navajo captives, 19th century.

While captives given only as "Indian" were omitted from this study and the owners of many captives could not be identified by name from the baptismal records, the relatively high mortality rate of captives, particularly children, probably counterbalances this considerably, so that these averages are about right for the holdings of captives at any one time.

That the proportions obtained from the baptismal records are not greatly altered by these factors is indicated by similar proportions obtained from a listing made in 1865 of all Indian captives that could be located in Conejos and Costilla Counties, Colorado Territory, by Lafayette Head, then Indian agent at Conejos. (Table 14)

No. of Navajo Captives	No. of Households		o. of Households with captives of other tribes also			
		1	2	3		
1	69	9	- 1	1 - 1 -		
2	13	4				
3	5	-10		1		
4	1	المشر	-			

Table 14. Number of captives in households having Navajo captives, as shown by Head's census of 1865 in Conejos and Costilla Counties, Colorado Territory.

No households, even those that did not have Navajos among their captives, could be shown to have over 9 captives. Thus it is apparent that a large number of families possessed one or two captives as servants and that even the most wealthy men did not own great numbers. Data on captives held by those who had exceptionally large numbers is given in Appendix A. These statistics are in accord with Dr. Kennon's observations in 1865, "I know of no family which can raise one hundred and fifty dollars but what purchases a Navajo slave and many families own four or five----- (Young, 1958, p. 260). This general distribution of the captives throughout the population of New Mexico doubtless accounts in part for the difficulties encountered in returning these captives to their own families.

No thorough examination has been made of census data from Spanish-American towns in New Mexico, but proportions of Indian inhabitants in these towns, most of whom were probably captives, runs higher than in towns in Sonora and Chihuahua. The 1797-98 census of Belen reveals that almost 10% of the population was Indian and in the 1805 census of the same town the Indian population is close to 7% (Servite Fathers, n.d., p. 15).

Studies of conditions in other provinces suggest that there were local differences. In Sonora the population of

one town during the decade of 1778-1787 included a proportion of slaves of at least 5%. (Dobyns, Ezell, Jones and Ezell, 1957, p. 55) In Chihuahua, however, at the town of Janos in 1807 the population included 40 servants and slaves, somewhat over 5%, but the distribution by households was quite uneven. One household included 11 "servants" and "slaves". "Twentythree of these 40 servants and slaves were in the households of four presidial officers and one civilian, and seven of the remaining servants were in the households of four noncommissioned officers of the presidio. Thus 30 of the 40 servants and slaves at Janos in 1807 were in nine households. This would seem to bear out the statement that most of the people of Janos were of the poorer class." (Gerald, pp. 103-04) The special nature of Janos, a settlement around a presidio, may be a factor in this distribution of slave-ownership and therefore not typical of Chihuahua generally.

There was another factor involved, however, which was an even greater obstacle to the return of the captives. They were not to be repatriated unwillingly. Most of the captives had been obtained when young children and having spent some years in Spanish-American society, had grown up as Spanish-American culturally. Being isolated in different households they had limited contact with other captives and were probably hispanicized quite rapidly. Aside from being catechized in the Catholic religion, they probably received little formal schooling, but they did have to learn the Spanish language and the way of life of the Spanish-Americans to function as servants. For those who did not adapt well, there were stories current which were used to dissuade them from trying to return. Out of the 148 captives located by Head in his survey in Costilla and Conejos counties, Colorado Territory, only 10 said they were willing to return to their own people and 123 said they were unwilling to do so. Head omitted from his survey all captives who were married. The exact conditions of the interviews with the captives are not reported and the fact that most of the captives were under 20 years old may have made them susceptible to pressures exerted by their owners. The Navajos were then being held in captivity at Fort Sumner, which may have been a fact used by the owners of Navajo captives to induce them to remain. Of the captives interrogated by Head, however, 113 were Navajos and all those who said that they wished to return to their own tribe were Navajos. (Head, supra)

In summary, it may be concluded that the influence of

the Catholic Church was the only formalized control to prevent excessive mistreatment of the Indian captives and that this control was exercized primarily through its effect upon public opinion and the ceremonial relationships established through baptism. The captives occupied the lowest position in Spanish-American society, were items of commerce up to the time they were baptized, earned their living as servants, had very limited opportunities to achieve socially approved marriages, found it difficult to improve their condition, and had a high mortality rate. They were seldom reduced to complete destitution and those who grew up in the role of servant were educated to accept it. They were generally somewhat isolated from close contact with others in the same status, so that they did not manage to function as an effective minority group within Spanish-American society.

Many questions that might be raised concerning the lives of these people and their role in society remain unanswered. A search for old wills of the owners of Indian captives would help to further clarify the captives' status with different families. It is apparent that toward the end of the period of Spanish rule captives were no longer being used for large scale projects such as the working of mines, nor were genizaro villages being established or even maintained as separate towns.

The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico continued the practice of taking and keeping captives well into the period of United States rule and consequently did not have the opportunity of ending the custom themselves. A study of the elimination of this practice in the north Mexican states would contribute a good deal to the understanding of this institution in Spanish culture in the region.

Chapter VI

Slavery in Navajo Culture

There is some question as to whether slavery was an aboriginal institution in the southwest. That captives were taken in war is well documented and that they sometimes became members of the tribes which captured them also seems clear. The status of these captives is less clearly shown. Early Spanish accounts which label these people as "slaves" may well be merely the result of the explorers interpreting the situation in terms of their own cultural experience.

According to the Nuevo Pequeno Larousse (Paris, 1952), the Spanish term "esclavo" refers to a "Person that is under the complete control of another who has purchased him". Thus, two elements seem to have been significant to establish an individual's condition as slavery, as defined in Spanish; first, absolute dependence upon a master and, second, being owned in the sense of being property obtained by sale or trade, or perhaps, also, susceptible to sale or trade. With regard to either of these elements in truly aboriginal times, there is little likelihood that it will ever be known with any degree of certainty whether they were present.

It has been shown that most of these Indian captives held in New Mexico were obtained by their masters by purchase. The masters were not free to dispose of them after baptism. Another matter to be considered in this regard is the status of the captives upon the death of an owner. Since slavery was illegal, they could not be included in property listed in a will (Jenkins, 1965), and according to one source they became free upon the death of the master, (Hafen & Hafen, 1954, p. 274), but it is doubtful that this was done when a captive was a minor, and there may well have been ways of evading this obligation in other cases. Again, the degree of freedom allowed the captives is unknown. They could marry, but rarely did so. Whether this was due merely to social factors or whether owners of captives could prevent them from marrying, either through overt or covert means, is not clear. Other unanswered questions involve the rights of the captives to hold property and other ways by which they might obtain their freedom. While occasional descriptions give hints on these matters, considerable research will be required to supply the data that are needed to have any certainty regarding them. Relatively few captive servants were held by the Pueblo people living under Spanish rule, but there were some and a study comparing the conditions of the captives held by Spanish-Americans with those of captives held by the Pueblos, if the data are extant, would be of value. That the captives, when held by Spanish-Americans, were considered slaves is indicated by the occasional use of "esclavo" in reference to them. not a hereditary condition and children of the captives were not considered property, but whether they, as a result of being raised at the master's expense, could have been forced into bondage as peons due to debt is also unresolved. It would be natural for some of the features of slavery as practiced by the Spaniards to diffuse to the aboriginal tribes of the area and influence the treatment of captives within these other societies. Superficially, at least, the captives held by the missionized Pueblos seem to have lived under conditions very similar to those held by Spanish-Americans. This would certainly have been true in those aspects of their lives that came under the formal control of the Spanish rulers. On the other hand, their relationship to their masters may have been quite different and governed largely by the social customs peculiar to the different pueblos. Slavery was almost certainly a postcontact institution among the Yumans (Dobyns, Ezell, Jones & Ezell, 1957, p. 48).

The concepts of the ownership of a human being and the right to control another person to a more limited degree as a result of indebtedness did exist among the neighboring tribes. If the concept of human beings as property did not exist in the area in aboriginal times it would none the less have been learned at an early date from the Spaniards who were eager to obtain servants and were ready to buy captives at their trade fairs. Indeed, after Spanish colonization, the surest defense that a tribe could make to avoid being raided for captives was to become a valuable source of captives from other tribes which might be purchased.

The Navajos have a word for slave, naalte (Young & Morgan, 1962, p. 145), but grammatical evidence suggests that the complex was not deeply rooted in their culture. According to Young:

If the primary actor is another <u>animate</u> object, such as a horse, instead of an <u>inanimate</u>, airplane, boat, etc., the person carried may not

be expressed as the (causative) agent with reference to the action, because the horse has a will of his own and, from the Navajo viewpoint, is not directly subject to the will of the secondary actor (the rider) in the same manner as the inanimate airplane or boat which may be caused to move at will by an agent. The English speaking person is culturally conditioned to accept coercion or a causative relationship between man and other animate objects, including humans. The Navaio is not so conditioned and linguistic forms expressing coercion or causative relationships between an agentive subject and an animate object are by no means as commonly used in Navajo as they are in English.... The expression "he made me do it", "I made him ", etc. indicating a person's causative function with relation to a verbal action performed by a second or third party, irrespective of that party's will or desire, - and the large English vocabulary relating to coercion (e.g. make, compel, force, coerce, oblige, require, constrain, etc.) - are so commonplace that it may not occur to us that members of other cultural groups, speaking other languages, may not totally share these concepts with us, and may find it clumsy to verbalize them. In fact, in some contexts the connotation of coercion or causation may have to be expressed by circumlocutions rather than by forms which are considered to be the normal ones in expressing causation within acceptable contexts.

⁻⁻⁻⁻One does not make the horse run, trot, or gallop, because the horse has a will of its own. He may trot against his will, at the direction of a person, but the action in so doing is not expressed as one which was directly caused by the subject of the verb in his capacity as a causative agent. The horse trots "even tho he didn't want to do so", but he still had the freedom of choice to decline or refuse to trot! (Young, 1961, pp. 507-10; emphasis in original)

This comparison between the Navajo and English languages can probably be considered generally true for the Athabaskan languages as a whole compared with the Indo-European languages as a whole.

This attitude is not merely a result of the rules of grammer, although it is in the linguistic context that indications of its historic depth are best revealed. Respect for the rights of the individual are deeply rooted in Navajo culture and personality. Perhaps one of the best descriptions of this facet of Navajo life is that written by James F. Downs:

Despite close and absolutely essential familial ties, the Navajo remain highly individualistic people. Their primary social premise might be said to be that no person has the right to speak for or to direct the actions of another. This attitude creates specific cultural and social responses. In childhood it permits or rather enforces, the pattern of light discipline by persuasion, ridicule, or shaming in opposition to corporal punishment or coercion. Children in a very broad sense might be said to be herded rather than led by adults, inasmuch as adults tend to interpose themselves or some other object between the child and what it has set out to do, thus diverting it from an undesirable activity. The decision of a four-year-old that he will stay home from, or go to, a squaw dance, or to the store with the family is invariably honored, unless acquiescence is manifestly impossible. Often adult plans will be arranged so that the child can stay home. In seven months' close association with seven nuclear families with a total of twenty-nine children below fifteen years of age, I observed a child struck on only four occasions. Only one of these, I might add, was for disobedience. All the blows involved, were rather mild, even when compared with the spankings of the most "progressive" white mother. Disobedient children are often threatened that an uncle or older brother will be requested to spank them.

Among adults this emphasis on individualism

manifests itself in an unwillingness to make a statement that could be considered a commitment of another person. One learns quickly to phrase questions about other people so that an answer can be given by the informant without violating this rule. Brothers and sisters will politely refuse to discuss even the others' likes and dislikes, or husbands will profess complete ignorance of whether or not their wives want to attend a squaw dance. This gives an outsider a first impression that the Navajo know very little about one another, an impression that later is seen to be manifestly false. It is simply a violation of Navajo mores to express an opinion for someone else.

The right of an individual to do as he wishes and to make up his mind creates what appears to an outsider to be a lack of concern about them. ---

This individualism manifests itself in political activity.---

Even in the realm of curing and religion where ceremonial payments must be shared by a large number of relatives, there are no directly coercive methods of enforcing payment. The fear of being accused of witchcraft (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1947; 179) or of engendering deep and perhaps irreparable family schisms usually enforces participation. When this attitude is confronted with the far more authoritarian and arbitrary attitudes of white law, with its attendant coercive measures, it creates deep and bitter resentments that often manifest themselves in angry and nearly fatal attacks on policemen who must arrest violators, particularly drunks. The high degree of individualism is also clear in the ownership of livestock, as outlined earlier.

In summary, despite the importance of group ties in this area, it should be remembered that the group must and often does make major adjustments to fit the behavior of an individual. (Downs, 1964, pp. 69-70) This strong respect for the individual was often the root cause of disputes between whites and Navajos and particularly important was the Navajos' reluctance to use coercive measures among themselves. The Navajos' dislike for the use of coercion was sometimes described quite clearly in early reports, as in the annual report of the Navajo agent in 1870:

I have endeavored to have the chiefs adopt some system of punishment but they think that if they immediately take stolen property away from the thieves, and continually show them that the good men will not allow them to keep stolen property, it will very soon discourage the thieves and break up all stealing. chiefs, and all others whom I have tried to have punish the thieves or deliver them up to the military, say that the family of the man who is punished, although they do not sanction stealing, become their enemies, on account of their relatives suffering, and continually harass and bother them, and, as they have married and inter-married promiscuously throughout the whole nation for a great many years, they nearly all claim some relationship with each other and therefore dislike to make so many enemies. (Bennett & Clinton, Aug. 19, 1870, in Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1870, p. 151)

In 1852 John Greiner quoted a delegation of Navajo headmen as saying, in effect:

They were much please (d) to think he would look after their interests. They had some bad men among them, who made trouble, they had been in the habit of punishing their people severely for doing wrong, but it /had/ done no good the persons punished would either kill himself or the one who punished him, the relations of the parties would take it up, and often would steal from the Mexicans to make trouble, they had now resolved to deal kindly with their people and give them good advice. (Abel, 1916, p. 208)

In this statement the mention of the former use of coercive methods may refer to the remote past, for Navajo tradition and mythology contain references to the use of extreme punishments for wrong-doing, these always leading to further troubles. Thus, even the mythology of the Navajos strongly reinforces these attitudes.

The concept of slavery seems extremely incompatible with these attitudes. It must be remembered, however, that Anglo-Americans, while taking pride in their individualism and respect for the rights of the individual, also practiced slavery and found rationalizations to justify the practice. While the complex relating to individualism is perhaps even stronger in Navajo culture than in Anglo-American culture, the fact remains that the Navajos did practice slavery of sorts during historic times. nature of this slavery is difficult to determine, but there are sufficient data to allow a partial description of the custom as practiced by the Navajos. Discrepancies in the data may well reflect differences in different time periods or merely be a result of great variation in a complex which never achieved complete integration into the culture.

As described by the Franciscan Fathers, the lot of a slave held by the Navajos was far worse than that of a slave of the Spaniards:

> ... The slave was forced to labor for his captor by agriculture, herding, and everything arduous. Female slaves were not taught the art of weaving, which was the sacred trust of Navaho women. In addition, the captor might take the life of his slave, sell or dispose of him at will, and upon the death of his master the slave was dispatched immediately after the burial was performed. This condition no longer prevails, though occasionally one hears mention made of members of other tribes who are held as slaves. There are, however, no instances on record in which a Navaho was subjected to slavery by his own tribesmen (Franciscan Fathers, 1910, pp. 423-24).

The limited data in the contemporary documentation do

not fully support these statements. If a slave's condition among the Navajos were so completely unbearable, any opportunity would be taken to escape. On the contrary, some captives, when given the opportunity to return to their own people, preferred to remain with the Navajos. During the Anglo-American period, at least, slavery was not necessarily an extremely pitiable condition, but treatment of individual slaves varied considerably.

Calhoun's list of captives delivered by the Navajos as a result of Washington's treaty of 1849 is particularly relevant for information relating to captives held by the Navajos:

Mexican Captives delivered

- Anto Josea about 10 years old, taken from Jemez where his parents now live, by the Navajo, who delivered him. A flock of goats and sheep were stolen at the same time. He says he was well treated.
- 2. Teodosio Gonzales, twelve years of age, was taken about six years ago, from a corral near the Rio Grande, where he supposes his parents now live. He was stolen while herding goats, but no effort was made to take the goats. He was well treated.
- 3. Marceito, eighteen years of age, was taken from Socorro. He knows nothing of his parents, nor how long he has been captive. He has evidently been a captive many years as he has entirely forgotten his native tongue. The novelty of a home, as explained to him, seemed to excite him somewhat.
- 4. Josea Ignacio Anane, became a prisoner seventeen years ago, taken, when quite a boy, by a roving band of Navajos, at Tuckalotoe. His parents then lived at Santa Fe, where he supposes they now reside. He is the fortunate possessor of two wives, and three children, living at Mecina Gorda (Big Oak) north of Cheille two and a half

days travel. He was originally sold to an Indian named Waro, to whom he yet belongs. I do not think he is under many restraints, for he prefers most decidedly to remain with the Navajos, notwithstanding his peonage.

Subsequently at Zunia the Navajos brought to us, Manuel Lucira, taken from Del Mansina two years since, while herding sheep. The Indians took only such sheep as was needed at the moment. He is about fourteen years of age, and has been sold several times, and badly treated, by flogging, etc. His parents are said to be living near the place where he was stolen from. At the same time a brother of Manuel's was taken; but he was returned last year. These captives except the one so fortunately married have been placed in the hands of friends and acquaintances of their parents. (Abel, 1915, pp. 29-30)

There is more information in the documentary record relating to Anane. Simpson, who wrote of the same expedition as did Calhoun, stated:

Early this morning, a Mexican captive, of about 30 years of age, came into camp to see the colonel commanding. He represented that he was stolen by the Navajos seventeen years ago, and that he did not wish to be restored to his people again. Indeed, he did not as much as ask about his friends, who, I am informed, are now living at Santa Fe, from the vicinity of which he was stolen, whilst tending sheep. He is a very active, intelligent-looking fellow, and speaks like a native born Navajo, having all their characteristics, in dress, conversation, and manners. (Simpson, 1850, p. 102)

It will be noticed that in this group all the Spanish-Americans held captive were relatively young at the time taken, that they were all male, most were captured along with livestock or while herding stock, that one had been poorly treated, but others were "well treated", one had not only married but had acquired two wives and that there seems

to have been little real desire on the part of the captives to be returned. Traits also present in the Spanish complex can be identified in this data; one, the slaves were captives taken in war; two, they were sometimes sold; and three, they could marry.

Other Spanish-American captives returned by the Navajos were described in similar terms. John Greiner reported in 1852 upon the return of captives as follows:

According to the agreement made with Your Excellency at Jemes a number of Navajos came in on the 27th inst. bringing with them three captive Mexican boys two of them having been taken prisoners while herding cattle on the west side of the Rio Grande opposite the ranches of Albuquerque last July and one of them from the Canon near Jemes five years ago. (Greiner to Calhoun, Jan. 31, 1852, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, N-25/1852 encl.)

In 1853 the Navajos intended to return two captives recently taken, proposing that "if necessary they were to buy them of the holders." (Kendrick to Sturgis, May 18, 1853, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, K-10/1853). Later in the same year another discussion of captives was held between David Meriwether, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico, and Sarcillos Largos, a leading Navajo headman. Sarcillos Largos stated that there were two or three Spanish-American captives among the Navajos who had married Navajo wives and four other captives who had not married. (Meriwether to Manypenny, Sept. 19, 1853, NA, BIA, RG 75, SNM, LR, N-177/1853). It is unlikely that Sarcillos Largos was personally aware of all Spanish-Americans held captive by the tribe and he may well have purposefully attempted to conceal the true number of captives. In addition, he did not purport to include captives from other tribes. Nonetheless, the number of captives held by the Navajos does not appear to have been large, at least as compared with the number held by the Spanish-Americans. On the other hand, some wealthy headmen seem to have had large numbers of slaves. Hoskinini is said to have possessed 32 Ute slaves at the time of his death in 1909. (Gillmor and Wetherill, 1965, p. 180). If these very limited data are correct, it would appear that the Navajos held proportionately fewer slaves than the SpanishAmericans, but that they were more concentrated in the hands of wealthy owners. Also, most of the slaves were originally from other Indian tribes. Unfortunately, most of our data concerns captives who were Spanish-Americans, as they were those in whom the early officials dealing with the Navajos were most interested. Their cases may not have been typical.

Spanish-American captives were subject to wide variations in treatment, however. One, and possibly two, Spanish-American captives were killed in order to satisfy demands by the United States that murderers be surrendered. In both cases the guilty parties were Navajos and the headmen did not have the powers to turn them over, but felt that the delivery of a slave, even a dead one, would be just recompense. In one case, the original killing was also of a slave, a negro belonging to an officer at Fort Defiance. (Collins to Mix, Sept. 27, 1858, in Message of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirty-Fifth Congress, 35th Cong., 2d. Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1, 1858, pp. 542-43). The captive killed in this instance was young, "not over eighteen years old". (Baily, 1964, p. 88)

At about the same time two Spanish-American captives were reported to be men of some importance in the tribe:

On the 21st inst. the day before I returned from Manuellitto's village, Juan Annagri, for years past the interpreter of this post, but who left and joined the Navajos a short time before the commencement of hostilities, came in. Bt. Maj. Brooks immediately confined him to await my orders.

This Juan is a shrewd, intelligent man, and has exercised more influence over the principal chiefs (I am told) than any other person in the country. He is the peon (nominally) of Jerrera, one of the richest among the Navajos, and except only Sarcillos Largos, Armijo and Manuellitto, the most important Man among them. This chief is under the complete control of Juan's brother, Terribio. --- (Miles to Wilkins, Oct. 25, 1858, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, M-74/1858)

Thus, a skill possessed by a captive, such as his native language, could become an asset and he might enjoy sufficient freedom to make full use of it. Another captive who enjoyed prominence as an interpreter and who lived in relative freedom was Jesus Arviso (See Appendix B). Captives might also gain prominence through strictly Navajo skills taught them by their owners, such as Nakai Na'dis Saal, a Spanish-American raised on Black Mesa who became a singer of Nightway (per Bruce Yazzi, son of Nakai Na'dis Saal). This variation in the treatment of captives was probably controlled largely by the degree to which the captives became acculturated to Navajo ways. An intelligent captive taken while yet young enough to learn the essential aspects of Navajo culture might adapt so well as to be almost fully accepted by the Navajos as one of themselves. Others, who by reason of age or lack of intelligence would be less able to fit into the Navajo way, would suffer varying degrees of non-acceptance. Whereas formal acceptance into the official religion by baptism was the manner of recognition of a captive's belonging in Spanish-American society, the crucial factor in Navajo society appears to have been alliance with a clan. Ritual purification of captives was probably also practiced, but data regarding this are lacking. Clan membership would seem to be functionally more akin to baptism, insofar as the captives' future lives were concerned. There was no formal ceremony used to sanction this clan membership, but it would be essential for any individual who hoped to live and marry in Navajo society and lead a normal sort of Navajo life. Captives from other tribes might easily become affiliated with clans that had originated with refugees who had come from their own tribe long before. It was more common, however, for captives taken in the later periods to become members of their masters' clans, a procedure that would be compatible with their "adoption" into the family. Nakai Na'dis Saal was considered a member of the Todich'iinii Clan because he was held successively by two brothers of that clan. supra) Two Walapai slaves in the Ramah area were "treated as members" of the clan of the woman who raised them. (Kluckhohn, 1956, p. 364) Reichard even records an instance of a Hopi woman, taken captive by the Utes and sold to the Navajos, who did not acquire clan membership, but whose children were considered members of their Navajo father's clan. (Reichard, 1928, p. 17) Thus, the failure of a female captive to acquire clan membership would not deprive her children of this right. Like baptism, clan affiliation

gave the captive fictitious kin within his new society who might take an interest in his welfare, but it would give him far more such relatives than would baptism. The exact means by which these captives became recognized as clan members is not entirely clear.

The Spanish-Americans "domesticated" their captives, a process that increased their value (Steck to Dole, 13 Jan. 1864, NA, BIA, RG 75, NMS, LR, S-234/1864), but just how this was done is not known. The Navajos faced a similar problem with captives and referred to the process as "taming". Again little is known about the details, but the limited data available indicate that captives were initially subject to harsh treatment which usually involved tiring routines. A new captive would often be deprived of most of his clothing and forced to travel on foot while the war party rode horseback. When necessary the captive might be bound with ropes. The first concern, of course, was to prevent escape until the captive had been taken well into Navajo Country. A new captive was often given arduous work and sometimes treated roughly. A slave who did not become well "tamed" apparently might never graduate from this status, but one who began to fit in would gradually be freed of these excessive burdens. A method by which this was sometimes accomplished was by a change of owners. The new owner, sometimes a relative of the first owner, would take or purchase the slave in order to relieve him of the harsh treatment he was receiving. may have been a regular practice with captives when necessary. It would obviously not be required with infants and probably seldom with captives purchased from other tribes where they would presumably have already been "tamed".

Letherman's description in 1856 is significant in regard to differences in treatment:

Captives taken in their forays are usually treated kindly. Those who have been some years among them, for the most part prefer remaining rather than join their own kindred. Those who do leave them are generally such as doubtless have been punished for their own misdeeds, and are such, judging from what we have seen, as would be a nuisance to any community, however, savage- surpassingly idle, lazy, and vicious. (Letherman, "Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, Territory of New Mexico." 10th Annual Report of the Board

of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1856, p. 295).

Slaves who became well integrated were adopted or married, or both, while slaves who misbehaved were usually sold. (Gifford, 1940, p. 167)

Captives were allowed to hold property, both tangible as in the case of livestock, and intangible, as in the case of ceremonial knowledge, but being considered property themselves, they could be inherited. The Ute slaves of Hoskinini inherited sheep from him, but the division of the estate was made by Louisa Wetherill, a white woman, and the Navajos considered that she had inherited the slaves. (Gillmor and Wetherill, 1952, pp. 178-80) This, of course, was at a time when the slave complex, apparently never well integrated into the culture, had nearly broken down and is probably far from typical. Slaves were usually inherited by the brother or son of the master, according to Gifford's information. (Gifford, 1940, p. 167)

The Navajos' participation in the slave trade seems to have been principally as buyers rather than sellers. They purchased slaves from the Utes (Reichard, supra), and the southern Apaches, either Chiricahua or Western Apaches, perhaps both (NLC Statement Files), Utes, Comanches, Hopis and Jemez (Riordan, 1883, FD-4, p. 156). The captives taken by Navajo warriors were usually retained by the tribe rather than traded to others outside the tribe. The chief exception to this was the Cebolleta Band which, because of its proximity to the Spanish-American settlements, found it expedient to become suppliers of captives as well as friendly in other ways with the Spanish-Americans in order to maintain themselves in their exposed location. Some of the captives they sold were Navajos of other bands. (Bloom, 1942)

Capture and purchase were not the only means of acquiring slaves, however. Old Mexican, as quoted by Dyk, told of a Navajo who died about 1813 that:

---He also had a few slaves. He bought a few, but several Hopi, when they got hungry, would come to him and eat and work and help him, and after a while would go into his clan.--- (Dyk, A Navaho Autobiography, 1947, p. 60)

The same source indicates that the killing of a slave at the death of his owner was sometimes at the request of the slave and that the custom was not universally accepted. In post-Fort Sumner times, at least, slaves might even inherit some property from their deceased owners. (Ibid., pp. 60-61)

Hill's account suggests some of the variation possible in the treatment accorded captives:

--- The prisoners were never tortured or mistreated. If, when a warrior took a captive, he addressed him by the proper kinship term (namely, adopted him as one of his family) that prisoner was recognized as one of the tribe and no distinctions were made between him and other Navaho. However, if the adoption did not take place immediately, the status of the captive was that of a slave. Some slaves, because of their accomplishments, were more highly thought of than others. the captor was well-to-do he kept his prisoners; otherwise he sold them to some rich man. The price of a slave was a set of beads, a mountain lion skin, and "a few other things." (Hill, 1936, p. 16)

An interesting event is Agent Riordan's effort to free the slaves held by the Navajos in 1883. He reported:

Since I came here I have freed some 20 persons from slavery. A regular slave system has been in active operation amongst these Indians from time immemorial. I determined to put an end to it. The slaves are descendants of war captives and of persons sold into slavery from other tribes. The original bondsmen were Utes, Comanches, Apaches, Moquis, Jemez and from other tribes. Some were Mexicans captured in infancy. It is estimated that there are some 300 slaves in the hands of the tribe... (Riordan to Commissioner, Aug. 14, 1883, in Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1883)

About a year later his successor as Navajo Agent reported:

The Navajos still hold some slaves. are descendants of war captives, Utes, Apaches, Moguis, Mexicans, etc., but their condition is nearly the same as that of their masters, and as they know no better, could not subsist in any other way.... Mr. Riordan, while agent here, brought some of them away from their owners and set them free. They immediately took the shortest trail back to the 'hogans' of their masters and are there now. judgment, the only way they could be free would be to take them away entirely, confine them, and subsist them at public expenses. (Bowman to Commissioner, Sept. 3, 1884, in Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1884.)

A comparison of the Navajo slave complex with the Spanish-American complex shows many similarities. The traits listed below are probably far from exhaustive, but clearly show this similarity:

SPANISH-AMERICAN	NAVAJO
Yes	Yes
Yes	Yes
Rarely	Sometimes
Yes	Yes
Yes	Yes
d" Yes	Yes
Apparently	Yes
Probably	Sometimes
y Rarely	Rarely
Yes	Yes
Yes	Yes
	Yes Yes Rarely Yes Yes Yes Apparently Probably Rarely Yes

TRAIT	SPANISH-AMERICAN	NAVAJO
Captives considered "servants" or "peons"	Yes	Yes
Assigned work at menial tasks	Yes	Yes
Captives considered "adopted" by owner's family	Sometimes	Sometimes
Allowed to marry	Yes	Yes
Did marry usually	No	Probably
Allowed to hold property	?	Yes
Could be inherited	No*	Yes
Low social status usual	Yes	Yes
Could rise in social status	Yes	Yes
Could acquire prominence	No ?	Yes
Many slaves held by rich famil:	ies No	Yes
One or a few slaves held by man	ny Yes	No
Condition hereditary	No	Partially**
Owner allowed to kill slave	No ?	Sometimes

^{*} Slaves could not be legally inherited and do not appear in wills (letter from Myra Ellen Jenkins, 20 July 1965). Whether there were extra-legal devices to circumvent the laws against slavery in this situation remains to be determined.

^{**} According to one of Gifford's informants the child of two slaves was "1/2 slave", but this would seem to be primarily of social significance. Children of a slave and a free person were free. (Gifford, 1940, p. 167)

Thus it would appear that the slave complex as it existed among the Navajos was similar to the Spanish complex in many respects. The degree to which these traits were the results of diffusion or of parallel developments under similar conditions is difficult to ascertain. There were striking differences, however. These were the result of historical and deep-seated cultural differences. Slavery had long been an institution in Spanish society and its anomalous position in New Mexican culture was largely a result of the fact that it was illegal but still considered to accord with positive values. It was practiced by a relatively rigid hierarchical society which put definite limits upon both masters and slaves. Among the Navajos it was a new and poorly integrated institution in a highly flexible culture and variability was considerably greater. The lot of a slave might be much harder and under some conditions he might be subject to death, but he could also achieve a far higher status within his adoptive society.

As among the Spanish-Americans, the institution ended under pressure from the federal government of the United States. Efforts by Anglo-American officials to end the custom among the Navajos seem to have been directed primarily toward the freeing of white captives, however, except for Riordan's abortive try. In both societies a number of captives who believed themselves too acculturated to return to their natal society remained. Knowledge of official sanctions against slavery and peonage doubtless led to some improvement in their lot. With the termination of wars and trade in slaves, the only two sources of new slaves were blocked.

Chapter VII

Warfare

A number of authorities have concluded that the rise of the slave trade was brought about by the Spaniards and was an important causative factor in Indian-white warfare and increased inter-tribal warfare during the historic period. (Scholes, 1937, p. 150; Hafen & Hafen, 1954, pp. 268-69; Malouf & Malouf, 1945, p. 380-82; Dobyns, Ezell, Jones and Ezell, 1957, pp. 46, 61; Forbes, 1960, pp. 284-85; Bailey, 1966) As shown in Chapter III, the slave trade became a major factor in the last period of Navajo-white warfare, particularly after 1820, and it appears also to have been a major factor in the pre-Revolt period. (Scholes, 1937, p. 150)

One aspect of warfare that can be dealt with on the basis of the baptismal and burial records is the losses suffered. The numbers lost as captives to the Spaniards are reflected in the baptismal records and these are suggestive of the numbers killed and wounded in the actions in which the prisoners were taken. Spanish casualties are determinable in part from the burial records. generally contain only the records of people killed near home in attacks by the free tribes. Losses sustained by Spanish forces during offensive operations, as well as other losses, must be obtained from other documents. Table 15 lists the total numbers reported killed in all documentation located. As the losses were reported by the whites, it is probable that the figures for white losses are more accurate than those for Navajo losses. variant figures for Navajo losses are due to differing estimates as to Navajo losses in various campaigns. are two possible sources of uncertainty in the figures for Navajo losses. One is lack of knowledge of total Navajo losses by the whites and the other is the possibility that some military commanders might have given exaggerated reports of their successes. The latter source is impossible to assess at this late date, but it should be noted that Spanish language documents generally place stronger emphasis upon the successes than the losses in reporting on campaigns. This is particularly true in the brief reports of campaigns in the service records and enlistment records of military personnel, where only the enemies' losses are detailed and

	NAVA	WHITE LOSSES				
	In	In		In	In	
	Defensive	Offensive		Defensive	Offensive	
	Actions	Actions	Totals	Actions	Actions	Totals
1690's	Like way in			1		1
1700's	51-63		51-63	6		6
		0.0			-	
1710's	36	-	36	1	5-11	1
1720's		-	-	-	-	-
1730's	-	-	-	3-?	-	3-?
1740's		Disc. 1-5	-	T		-
1750's	.	7 -	-	-	-	-
1760's	400	-	-	-	telle de la	_
1770's	21	6	27	7	4	11
1780's	ela la com	- 1	1	5		5
1790's	210.2	- 0 - 0 -	A 12	-	_	
1800's	181	24	205	18	2	20
1810's	43	1	44	27	8	35
1820's	122	13	135	68	9	77
1830's	106	4	110	41	6	47
1840's	74	9	83	31	-	31
1850's	136-148	16	152-164	21	35	56
1860's	233-241	21	254-262	124*	7	131
	1003-1035	95	1098-1130	353	71	424

Table 15. Number of reported deaths in wars between Navajos and whites, by decade.

the losses of the whites omitted completely. These brief notes are the only known surviving records of certain of the campaigns and any losses that might have been sustained by the whites are not determinable.

On the other hand, the Navajos generally tried to retrieve their dead and wounded and full reports of the Navajos' losses were often beyond the capacity of the white commanders. That the Navajos sometimes lost people by starvation and freezing when camps were attacked in winter cannot be doubted, but there are no data of any value for statistical

^{*} This figure includes a party of 55 prospectors that was allegedly completely wiped out by the Navajos. No primary account of this incident is known and the figure may well be exaggerated.

use regarding these losses. In addition, most of the slave raids were never mentioned at all in the documentation and numbers killed while taking slaves are therefore poorly represented here. It may be that these factors balance out so that the proportions indicated by Table 15 are nearly correct. The documentation available today obviously cannot supply a complete record and all of the figures are certainly lower than actual losses. If the proportions are askew, they probably are low for Navajo losses.

It is readily apparent that Navajo losses were consistently higher than white losses, the overall ratio being about 3:1. Were captives to be included, the ratio would be considerably higher. The Navajos were pitted against a superior military power, both in terms of numbers and effectiveness of weapons, and could hold their own only because of a number of complex factors, some of which were not within their power to control.

It is also apparent that both sides were more successful in offensive actions than when on the defensive. Both had effective techniques available for invading the enemy's territory and doing damage while there, but neither had marked success in holding any gains made in the process. The result of this was, throughout the greater part of the period, a military stalemate in which none of the wars were decisive and none of the treaties conclusive. White officials in New Mexico felt compelled to submit treaties to their superiors that were indicative of the victories they claimed and it is doubtful that the Navajos had much real comprehension of some of the terms of these treaties. Not being able to read the treaties, they apparently were often unaware that agreements reached verbally were not a part of the written texts of the treaties and later disputes relating to treaty provisions seem to have arisen at least partially due to this confusion. In no case were the treaty negotiators on either side empowered to commit their people to the treaty with finality. White officials had to send the treaties to Mexico or Washington for approval by higher executive or legislative authority and the Navajo headmen had to obtain the approval of the tribe as a whole, usually through holding a Naach'it or tribal assembly. Neither side had any real comprehension of the due process required by the other and the Anglo-American officials seem to have been particularly uninformed in this matter. Only two of the many treaties between the United States and the Navajo Tribe

were ever ratified by Congress and at least one treaty, that of 1858, was specifically rejected by the tribal assembly. It would appear that a number of treaties were rejected by the Navajos in spite of the efforts of their headmen to get approval. With the great lack of mutual understanding, only decisive military defeat leading to conquest or the development of effective defensive tactics, could end warfare, unless the conflicting interests of the two peoples should be resolved as a result of other factors. Neither side had the resources for such a total war until the 1860's.

Another comparison that is of value is with relation to the numbers killed by different tribes or tribal groups in their attacks in New Mexico. Only the burial records have been utilized for this comparison as relatively complete documentation from other sources is available here only for the Navajo.

In overall numbers, the Apacheans were clearly the most successful in their wars, being identifiable as the attackers in 434 deaths. Of these, Navajos can be clearly identified in 196 entries, suspected in three more and, if the Salineros near Zuni were a Navajo group, as does not seem unlikely, given credit for another four, for a possible total of 203, nearly half of the Apachean total. The remaining 231 must be divided among an indefinite number of other Apachean tribes, but with the Jicarillas, Mescaleros and Gilas, being closest to New Mexico, probably responsible for the majority. There is a good probability that some of these Apaches were Navajos also.

The only other tribe which can claim notable success in its attacks on New Mexico is the Comanche, with 168, probably more than any Apachean tribe except the Navajo.

There were 260 New Mexicans killed by Indians in which the tribes were not identified. This figure can probably be divided among the above three groups in about the same proportions, but relatively little else can be determined on the basis of these entries.

Using only those entries for which the tribe responsible for the deaths is identifiable, certain types of information may be derived. These, of course, represent only attacks in which the Indians had sufficient success to kill one or more

of their enemies. In attacks that did achieve this degree of success, the average number killed per attack varied considerably, as follows:

General Apache 1.89
Navajo 2.21

Comanche 3.00

The much greater success of the Comanches can doubtless be attributed in large part to their possession of firearms not available to the Athabaskans. Other factors must be taken into account if the significance of these figures are to be understood, however. The relatively greater success of the Navajos cannot be explained in terms of weapons. The most logical alternative is that the difference is due to tactical differences.

One aspect of tactics that can be readily tabulated on the basis of these church records is the time of year of the attacks. The graphs in Table 16 present the number of attacks recorded for each month by bars and the average number killed per attack during a month by lines. It will be noted that the general Apache group shows considerable variation in the bars, but limited variation in the line Nonetheless, there is a fair correlation between the months in which the greatest number of attacks occurred and the months in which the most successful attacks occurred. It would appear that the Apache tribes generally took climatic considerations into account in planning their offensive operations. For both the Navajos and the Comanches the graphs show little correlation between the months in which the greatest numbers of attacks took place and those in which the most successful attacks took place. Obviously these tribes had the means to disregard to some degree the aid that weather could give them. As shown in Chapter II, matters of policy and the state of relations with the whites were important in determining when these two tribes were at war with the whites. It would appear that both tribes made most attacks when they felt that they were needed to promote their own interests, regardless of the season. The only other environmental factor that might be considered important would be the terrain itself. It is to be presumed that all three groups utilized their knowledge of the terrain quite fully in planning and executing their attacks.

The remaining tactical factor to be considered is the relative size and type of organization of war parties. The greater numbers killed in Navajo and Comanche attacks are in themselves suggestive of larger war parties, at least sometimes or on an average, than those of the general Apache groups. It might be noted that the greatest number killed in any of the general Apache attacks in this sample is The most successful Navajo attack in this sample resulted in sixteen dead enemies. Two Comanche attacks were even more successful, one at Tome causing 21 deaths and one at Sandia causing 32. Another attack at Tome by "los Enemigos" resulted in 26 deaths and this high figure alone suggests the Comanches as the probable attackers, but lacking any more definite evidence, the entries have been listed under "Tribe not given." The larger total population of the Navajos and Comanches would give them the ability to put larger war parties in the field more frequently, regardless of the details of organization.

One factor that is of some interest is a calculation of what proportion of people killed in attacks might be listed as "non-combatants." In this class all females and all males under 16 years of age have been included. The results, as based upon the burial records, are as follows:

General Apache 14.3%

Navajo 3.5%

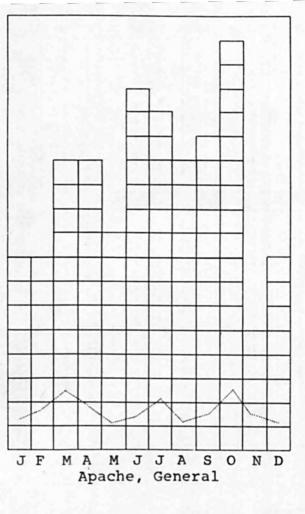
Comanche 1.8%

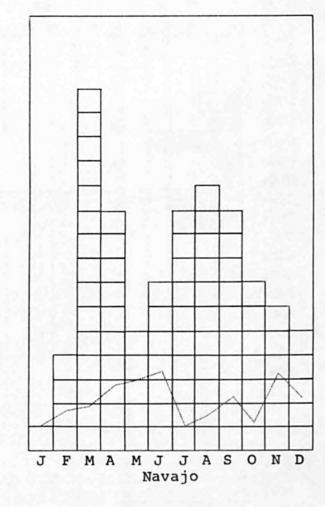
These figures are the reverse of the average numbers killed per attack and it is probable that there is a relationship indicated. It may generally be assumed that more effort was made to kill active adult males than women and children for the practical reasons that this was more important in winning any engagement and women and children were valuable captives if they could be taken alive, even if it should not be conceded that moral forces were operative in the choice of victims, although the latter factor was probably also If this was true, the proportion of non-combatants influential. killed should decrease as control of the situation was greater during battle. This, then, would again indicate a more efficient offensive military capacity for the Comanches and Navajos, with the Apacheans in general falling far below on this basis of measuring. That this sample might not be

adequate should be noted, however. The 1778 raid on Tome, of probable Comanche origin, resulted in 26 deaths, of which nine were women. If this should be included in the figures on Comanche attacks, the Comanche proportion for non-combatant deaths would be 7.1% higher than for the Navajos but still well below the general Apachean average.

One point remains to be made with regard to the figures presented in Table 17. These reflect the periods during which the tribes and tribal groups included carried on successful war against the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico and other Catholics closely associated with them, primarily Pueblo Indians, and do not necessarily indicate the overall intensity of hostilities between whites and Indians, either within New Mexico or areas peripheral thereto. decade for Comanche successes was the 1770's, while for the general Apachean category the 1780's and the first decade of the 19th century were the times of greatest success. high point for Navajo successes was in the early 1820's, but the lesser peak in the 1860's represents the period of most active warfare. The culminating wars with the southern Apaches and the Comanches took place outside the areas covered by these burial records and in part at later dates, so that they have not appeared as a part of these data. There were times when these tribes considered themselves at peace with New Mexico but at war with Texas, Chihuahua or Sonora and attacks in these other areas are not represented. As Anglo-Americans came into the area an increasing proportion of the white victims of these wars were Protestants and consequently are not included. One very noticeable absence is any large number of burials due to Navajo attacks upon the Spanish settlements along the Rio Puerco in the 1770's when these settlements were abandoned due to Navajo attacks. may be that separate books kept for these settlements have not survived or that the Spaniards, in their flight, left behind the bodies of their fallen comrades. Certainly a third period for Navajo successes should appear during this decade. Table 18 gives the total data available for deaths in the Navajo wars and allows for some judgment as to the completeness of the burial records relating to the other tribes.

In summary it may be stated that offensive warfare was better developed by both the New Mexicans and the free tribes neighboring New Mexico than defensive warfare, that the Indians maintained their freedom against heavy odds while suffering greater casualties, both in numbers killed and numbers taken captive, than did the whites, that the Comanches achieved the greatest success in their wars against the whites but that success was quite short-lived, that the Navajos were most successful in overall results, at least with regard to New Mexico and that the apparent lesser success of the other Apacheans was still not so reduced as to cause them to submit willingly to white domination. It cannot be doubted that many factors not implicit in the data considered here were important in the figures obtained. A complete consideration of the social, cultural and environmental factors influencing the success of these three groups in warfare is beyond the scope of this monograph, but it is apparent that they were many and complex.





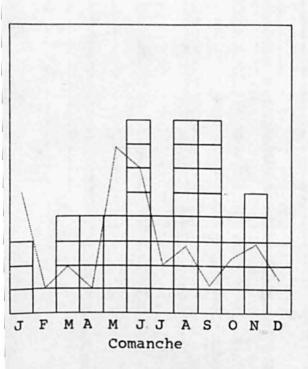


Table 16. Correlation of Time of Attacks with Success.

Bars - Number of successful attacks per month.

Lines - Number killed per attack per
 month.

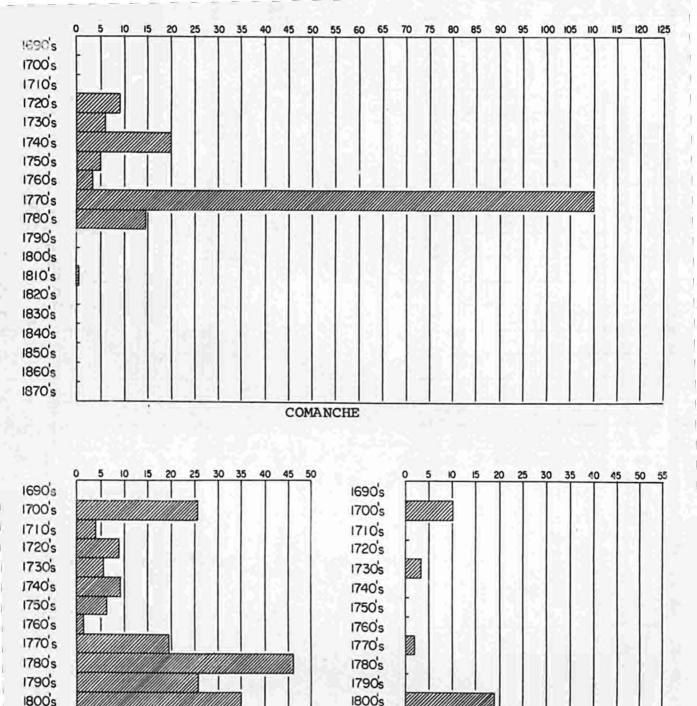


Table 17. Deaths in burial records, per decade, attributed to attacks by the three major groups.

APACHE, GENERAL

1810's

1820's

1830's

1840's

1850's

1860's

1870's

1810's

1820's

1830's

1840s

1850s

1860's

1870's

NAVAJO



Navajo Losses (Minimum in Cases

of Variable Reports)

Chapter VIII

Conclusions

Perhaps the major conclusion resulting from this study is a determination that a careful search of the routine baptismal and burial entries of the Catholic Church can provide an important mass of data relating to the histories of tribes not under mission control. It must be recognized that most of the information that may be derived from a study of these records concerns the course of relations between the whites and the Indians, although occasional insights into purely Indian matters are sometimes possible.

All of the tribes neighboring New Mexico are represented in these records, but problems of terminology create insurmontable obstacles to a complete study of all records of baptisms and burials relating to any one tribe. In some cases these obstacles are due to the use of general terms that identify a group of tribes related by language, such as Apaches for Athabaskans, Yutas for Shoshoneans or Coninos for upland Yumans. In other cases tribes are not even suggested, the entries mentioning the subjects merely as Indians, pagans, barbarians or similar indefinite terms. While a study of the entries helps to clarify ambiguities in usage in a general way, particularly by comparison of trends in the church records with events recorded in governmental archives, it does not generally offer final solutions as to the tribal identities of Indians mentioned in specific entries.

Primary entries, those resulting directly from whiteIndian contact, are most frequent during the periods of the
greatest extremes in enmity and amity for any given tribe.
The numbers of captives baptized and burials of Christians
killed increase with warfare, and willing converts increase
during periods of friendship and alliance. With very few
exceptions, these entries are the result of actions initiated
by the whites, military campaigns or slave raiding in the
former and proselytizing in the latter. The prevailing
circumstances which stimulated one or the other type of
activity by the whites were not limited to conditions within
New Mexican society, but were dependent upon a large number
of variables. Conditions within the Indian tribes involved

were usually significant to a degree, actions and attitudes of superiors in the governmental and church hierarchies in central Mexico, Europe and the United States had their effect, and threats and trade from other whites often had repercussions in Indian affairs in New Mexico. Thus the increased missionary activity of the New Mexican Franciscans in the mid-18th century was in part due to a more receptive attitude on the part of the Indians and in part due to fears of competition from the Jesuits in Sonora, competition which had even led the King of Spain to assign the Hopis to the Jesuits for a short period. (Montgomery, Smith & Brew, 1942, 26-29) The changing patterns of trade in firearms from the east had profound effects upon the slave trade. The shift in the areas exploited, from the plains on the east to the poverty-struck Paiutes in the northwest, was an obvious reaction to this westward spread of firearms among the Indians, and the opening of trade between the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico and those of California was probably an important factor as well. With the opening of the Santa Fe Trail and a flow of weapons to the New Mexicans, they were ready to raid tribes that were even more powerful in numbers but weaker in firepower, the Navajos becoming the primary target. By the 1860's, with the backing of the United States Army and an overwhelming superiority in arms, the slave raiders played no small part in the complete defeat suffered by the Navajos. This dramatic event, however, was the culmination of a long period of gradually increasing hostilities between whites and Navajos that had begun some ninety years before. This slow and uneven process of escalation of warfare was a phenomenon that has few parallels in history in terms of duration, but which offers a particularly valuable example for the study of the dynamics of war and peace. That the intensity of hostilities could increase so slowly as to require ninety years to reach a climax in which one side was obviously and irrevocably the loser and the other the victor, and that this process could take place in the relations between two relatively small societies, indicates that there is a good deal yet to be learned about the problems of war and peace. The participants in these wars were generally unaware of the process, so slow was it.

In the 19th century most writers, Spanish and Anglo alike, merely characterized the war as something that had gone on intermittently for a long time. Governors frequently over-estimated their own efforts and thought they had, or at least claimed to have, achieved victories that would end the warfare. The enthusiastic and egotistic Melgares was perhaps

the outstanding example. During his first war with the Navajos he ambitiously proclaimed his intention to drive the Navajos across the Colorado River into California whence they could never again come to attack New Mexico. Even when his treaty in 1819 did not deprive the Navajos of any lands they had formerly used, Melgares claimed to have established a lasting peace. His second Navajo war was soon to disprove this, and while his territorial ambitions were less expansive and his second treaty much simpler, he does not appear to have been completely disillusioned with regard to the results of his efforts.

The most astute Spanish observer was doubtless Father Martinez at Taos. He noted that Indian hostilities were increasing and attributed this to the extermination of game and the consequent economic hardship for the tribes, impelling them to turn to plunder for a livelihood. He was puzzled by the Navajo case, however, stating that while they were the only wild tribe that farmed and kept herds, they were also the most troublesome. (Martinez, 1843; Martinez, 1865)

There are few records presenting the Navajo view and the contemporary accounts, written by Anglos, are subject to the uncertainties of double translation and dubious accuracy of transcription. Only the often quoted remark of Sarcillos Largos in 1846 at Bear Spring that the Navajos had long been trying to conquer the New Mexicans (Hughes, 1848, 184) is at all relevant in indicating a Navajo awareness of the length of the war, but does little to show whether the process of escalation was recognized. versions of Sarcillos Largos' speeches as given by modern Navajos are correct, he was aware of the dangers involved in continuing warfare, but the average Navajo did not share this awareness and his advice was ignored. (Van Valkenburgh, Navajo tradition, with the advantage of hindsight, does give some recognition to the escalation that took place. The year of the falling stars, 1833, is generally given as a time of peace, but probably only in a relative sense. Charlie Mitchell's historical reminiscences reveal an increase in hostilities (Mitchell in Sapir and Hoijer, 1942, 337-47) seldom recognized by modern historians among the whites. Again, however, this does not cover the entire period. On both sides the lulls established by the various peace treaties were generally considered times of peace and new outbreaks of hostilities as new wars. Even when considered one war, no intensification was noted.

When the climax came, it was almost unrecognized for what it was. The Navajos today speak of the Naahondzood, "the fearing time," which began about 1860-61 with the renewed increase in slave raiding. Only when a majority of the tribe had been taken into captivity and the rest reduced to starving bands wandering in the wilderness did the governor of New Mexico proclaim a day of thanksgiving to celebrate the end of the Navajo wars.

A question of crucial importance relates to the periods of peace between the wars. Could one of these have developed into a new era of peace as had existed in the 18th century, or did each war inevitably sow the seeds that sprouted into a new war after a period of quiescence? Or was there a "point of no return," a crucial time during which the hostilities reached a stage that required they be continued until one side or the other was not only defeated but conquered, and brought under the domination of the other?

The earliest wars during this ninety year period had a definite economic motivation and were fought for land. This is particularly clear with regard to the wars of 1773-75 In these early wars the pattern of offensive and 1804-05. successes and defensive failures that was so characteristic throughout was already obvious. These were wars aimed at the conquest of land, not of people, and the Spaniards made no serious efforts to bring the Navajos under the rule of the king. While captives were sometimes taken and less often kept as servants, this was incidental to the struggle for land. The conquest of people did not become an objective of the whites until the Mexican period. Under Vizcarra the Navajos were told to settle in missions or be attacked. When they did not submit, aggressive warfare resulted, and the taking of captives became a major objective. This change in policy marks a definite turning point. The whites had decided to conquer the Navajos as well as their land. At first their means to do so did not allow more than piecemeal successes through the taking of captives.

Navajo policy is less explicit. They were trying to fight a defensive war in which their most effective tactics were best adapted to offense. It is doubtful that the Navajos' intentions extended to true conquest, in spite of the statement attributed to Sarcillos Largos, and even the occasional statements that Navajo raids were a levying of tribute do not seem to actually fit the facts. In view of

the Navajo ideal of harmony and the feeling that all conflicts can be settled by both sides being "even," regardless of which might be at fault, it seems probable that the Navajos desired little more than the establishment of peace on a basis of equality. This would certainly supply a partial explanation of the generally unaggressive stance of Navajo headmen at peace negotiations following wars which usually ended in stalemates. Acceptance of peace by the Navajos rested upon a concensus among them that both sides had emerged from the war with substantially equal losses, while the whites, to be satisfied with the results, felt a compulsion to be able to justify their making peace by exhibiting some gain. The problem of blame for the war, while probably not completely irrelevant, was of minor importance to the Navajos, and the immediate problem at hand, that of ending a war, was of greater consequence.

There was an obvious conflict of values in this situation. The whites went to pains to justify their war and by rationalizing the complete guilt to the Navajos' side, were able to assert with great conviction that the Navajos should suffer for a The whites usually expected the Navajos to make concessions and pay reparations. In general as time went on these demands became progressively greater, and it became progressively more difficult for the headmen to reach an agreement with the whites that they could present to their own people with any hope of obtaining the nearly complete concensus necessary to constitute acceptance by the tribe. As the number of captives retained among the whites increased, along with other losses suffered, so did the number of Navajo families increase who felt they were not "even" and the men of these families were under strong pressures to make good the loss through taking enemy goods or through retaliation.

As long as both sides were dependent primarily upon local resources, both could so deplete their powers to make war that periods of peace short of complete victory were necessary to allow for recovery. Once the United States was willing and able to commit substantial aid on the side of the New Mexicans, the end was certain, but even then a climax of complete military defeat, dispersion and exile would not appear to have been inevitable. Even with the evidence for the ninety year trend in escalation of hostilities, we cannot be sure that this was the case. Unfortunately, our unit of study did not exist in isolation and again outside forces intruded. The Civil War, insofar as the Navajos and Spanish-Americans were concerned, was a historical accident,

but it profoundly influenced white-Navajo relations.

There is another aspect that deserves serious consideration. The lengthening periods of warfare had an inevitable effect upon the cultures of the peoples involved. Even a cursory survey of the cultural changes among the Navajos shows that their way of life was gradually modified to a greater adaptation to the problems and conditions imposed by war with the whites. (Brugge, 1963) Similar modifications in Spanish-American culture in New Mexico are not so readily identifiable, but probably occurred. Certainly an increased importance of war captives as servants developed in the economies and social orders of both peoples. As these adaptations to conditions brought about by the wars became institutionalized as permanent cultural changes, they reinforced the orientation toward warfare. Values favoring war probably increased in emphasis. Toward the end of the period, war was even asserted by some Navajos to be efficacious in bringing rain. (Mitchell in Sapir and Hoijer, 1942, 341) Many of the changes in Navajo culture, such as the slave complex, can be traced in part at least to diffusion from the Spaniards and the wars seem to have had a greater effect on Navajo culture than on Spanish culture.

In short, the cultural, emotional and diplomatic forces all seem to have combined to reinforce the trend toward escalation. That there were other factors, some quite strong, that favored peace and were contrary to the trend, must be recognized, but these were ineffectual in determining the course of events. Leaders on both sides who strove to establish a lasting peace were working with cultural and emotional forces that they did not understand, even some of those operative in their own societies, and the diverse outlooks of the two cultures could not be reconciled without a degree of knowledge and understanding that they were unable to attain.

Related to the problem of war is that of peace, and the long era of Spanish-Navajo friendship in the mid 18th century is an interesting contrast to the escalation-climax trend seen in the era of warfare that followed. Peace seems to have developed gradually during the second decade of the century and even the exact date of its beginning is vague. At first it was manifested merely by a lack of war. There followed an increase in trade between the two peoples. Both were also at war with a common enemy, the Utes. There

appears to have been no direct relation between the Navajos being at war with the Utes and the Spaniards being at war with the same tribe. There are no reports of coordinated attacks upon the Utes by Navajos and Spaniards together, but by the 1750's there had been some arrangements made for helping each other in defense. Navajo-Spanish friendship increased gradually to about 1750. In the 1740's there was an experiment in missionizing the Navajos and even the failure of this effort did not seem to damage Navajo-Spanish relations. Into the 1750's Spaniards continued to move into Navajo country to settle with little fear. This immigration does seem to have started tensions that had not existed previously. In the 1750's the Spaniards and Utes ended their wars and in the 1770's were allied against the Navajos. During the shorter periods of peace in the 1780's and '90's the Spaniards managed to persuade the Navajos to fight the Gila Apaches as allies of the province, but the partnership was never firm nor the break with the Gila Apaches decisive. Another short period of peace was marked, in 1808, by a very real attempt on the part of local leaders to settle land disputes in the eastern part of Navajo country (Brugge, 1966), but the effects of this did not last long. The long term trend of the peace was toward a peak in good relations about the middle of the period, with increasingly close relations up to about 1750 and increasing tension following that date. Indeed, the trend toward poorer relations, beginning when the Spaniards showed greater sympathy to their new friends, the Utes, than to their old allies, the Navajos, in the 1750's and continuing to the outbreak of war in the '70's, is but a preface to the escalation of hostilities during the next ninety years. Thus there is a span of more than a century in duration when relations between Navajos and whites became progressively less friendly and more hostile. The trends in peaceful relations are not as subject to statistical analysis as those in war, but the overall effect is easily discerned in the combination of events. No one event, nor even a few, serves as an index, at least of those events of which records were kept.

The difference between the peace trend and the war trend, as they might be termed, is clear as to configuration; the first a gradual increase to a peak, then a gradual decrease; the second a curving rise to a climax at the end. The precise causes in each case are obscure. There are too many apparent causes, but not enough that supply unifying principles. A comparison of these white-Navajo sequences with similar sequences in other inter-cultural contact situations

should do * much to elucidate the more basic factors in trends toward war or peace. I do not believe the Navajo configurations to be necessarily of universal validity, neither do I think that they are unique. The significant differences in the configurations of trends would appear in a broader study. The conditions leading to similar and different configurations should allow valuable insights into the anthropology of inter-cultural relations.

Another problem which has been given only slight attention in previous chapters is that of diffusion. The exchange of people as captives between various cultures could not fail to influence the cultural inventories of the societies involved. Chapter VI deals with the diffusion involved in the slave complex itself, but influence in many areas of culture is to be expected. The church records do little to amplify our knowledge of this. It has frequently been asserted that slavery influenced the techniques of Navajo and Spanish weaving. (Amsden, 1949, 89, fn 11; Mera, 1938; Reichard, 1936, 176) The records show that there certainly existed a condition which would allow for this, as well as for the exchange of other techniques, knowledge and ideas in many aspects of culture. Individuals who escaped or were released to return to their natal society would generally be better able to introduce new ideas than captives held in a servant status among an alien group, but in either case the opportunity was there. The influence of this factor in the histories of the cultures of the southwest seems generally to have been limited to material traits, and while the captives could and doubtless did contribute to the knowledge of one culture held by another, this knowledge does not seem to have led to any extreme changes in the basic cultural patterns of the peoples involved. Research into the role of the captives in cultural diffusion and the kinds of diffusion involved must be accomplished before more speculation on the matter can be productive. The historical documentation contains hints of diffusion in both directions and ethnographic work can still produce new data on the subject.

HOUSEHOLDS HAVING 6 OR MORE CAPTIVES

Owners' Names	Captives' Names	Tribe	Age at Baptism	Year of Baptism	Parish Where Baptized
Bartolome Baca		Aa	5-6 yrs.	1819	Tome
		Hopi	10 "	1820	
	All the state of t	Hopi	7 "	1820	
		Hopi	8-9 "	1821	
		Hopi	5-6 "	1821	
		Hopi	6-7 "	1821	.,
	Maria Gertrudis	Navajo	18-19"	1824	Santa Fe
	Maria Candelaria	Navajo	18-20"	1824	н
Juan Antonio Baca	Maria de la Luz	Navajo	20 days	1825	Cochiti
	Maria Candelaria	Navajo	10 yrs.	1825	
	Maria Juana	Navajo	1 yr.	1825	
	Francisca	Navajo	6 yrs.	1826	
	Juan Bautista	Navajo	5 yrs.	1826	
	Pablo	Navajo	7 yrs.	1826	
	Maria Paula	Navajo	14 "	1826	Bernalillo
	Maria Guadalupe	Navajo	"adulta"	1826	"
Juan Antonio Espinosa &	Maria Rita	Ute	9 yrs.	1850	Taos
Maria Manuela Gomez	Maria Concepcion	Ute	9 mos.	1857	
	Santiago	Navajo	10 mos.	1860	
	Maria Margarita	Navajo	20 yrs.	1860	
	Maria de los Dolores	Navajo	3 "	1860	
	Jose de la Merced	Ute	1½ "	1862	0
Antonio Leroux &	Ana Maria	Kiowa	10 yrs.	1830	Taos
Polonia Lucero (1830) or	Maria de la Luz	Ute	14 "	1846	
Maria Juana Vijil (1846+)	Jose Jacobo	Ute	10 "	1846	
	Maria Sofia	Ute	6 "	1853	
	Maria Delores	Ute	12 "	1853	
	Maria Guadalupe	Ute	6 "	1853	
	1	Ute	10 "	1859	

154

Owners' Names	Captives' Names	Tribe	Age at Baptism	Year of Baptism	Where Baptized
Antonio Manzanares	Maria Juliana	Navajo	6 yrs.	1862	Abiquiu
	Francisco	Navajo		1864	"
	Juan	Navajo		1864	"
	Agustina	Ute	9 yrs.	1865	
	Juana	Navajo	13 "	1867	
	Maria Margarita	Navajo	"adulta"	1869	"
	Maria Guadalupe	Navajo	"	1869	
	Alejandro	Navajo	"adulto"	1869	н
Antonio Matias Ortiz	Maria del Carmen	Ute	"criatura"	1804	Santa Fe
& Maria Rosa Salazar	Maria Rita	Ute	15 yrs.	1812	"
	Maria Petra	Navajo	3 "	1824	"
		Navajo	6-7 "	1826	n n
	Guadalupe	Navajo		1841	- n
	Maria del Refugio	Ute	6 yrs.	1842	
	Maria Dolores	Ute		1842	
	Jose Antonio	Navajo		1847	
	Antonio Jose	Ute	4 yrs.	1849	
Jose Leandro Perea &	Maria Bernarda	Navajo	4 yrs.	1863	Bernalillo
Maria Dolores Chavez	Maria Guadalupe	Navajo	13 "	1863	
	Maria Clara	Navajo	6 "	1865	
	Maria Petra	Navajo	12 "	1866	
	Vicenta	Navajo	18 "	1868	
	Paula	Navajo	15 "	1868	
Jose Antonio Pino &	Juan Francisco/	Navajo	"parvulo"	1824	Laguna
Ana Maria Pino	Antonio	Navajo	"	1824	"
	Rafaela	Navajo		1824	
	Leonarda	Navajo	"	1824	n n
	Maria Guadalupe	Conino	15 days	1845	Cebolleta
	Maria Teresa	Navajo		1845	Belen
	Maria Agustina	Navajo		1845	"

- 155 .

Parish

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Owners' Names	Captives' Names	Tribe	Age at Baptism	Year of Baptism	Parish Where Baptized
Anastacio Sandoval & Guadalupe Roibal	Maria Candelaria Maria Dolores	Navajo Paiute Paiute	7 yrs.	1844 1848 1852	Santa Fe El Vado Santa Fe
	Jose Antonio Elentorio Jose Domingo Apolonio Juan Bautista	Ute Navajo Navajo	3 yrs. 6 "	1860 1861 1864	n n
Antonio Jose Valdez & Maria Antonia Quintana	Jose Antonio Maria Gertrudis Mariano Maria Guadalupe	Ute Ute Navajo Navajo Navajo	7 yrs. 4 " 13 " 8 " 10-12"	1854 1860 1861 1863 1863	Taos " " "
	Maria Soledad Jose Francisco Maria del Rosario	Navajo Navajo Navajo	4-5 yrs. 6 yrs.	1864 1865 1865	" "

APPENDIX B

JESUS ARVISO

One of the best documented histories of a Spanish-American captive of the Navajos is that of Jesus Arviso. His case was probably far from typical, but is presented here for the information it gives as to the conditions of life of one captive held by the Navajos.

Jesus Arviso was born somewhere in Sonora. About 1850 while still a young boy he was captured by the Western Apaches. He was apparently traded by them to the Chiricahuas, for a Chiricahua Apache sold him to a Navajo for a black horse at or near present-day Dusty, New Mexico, not long afterwards. The data relating to the identity of Jesus Arviso's captors are a bit confused, but there seems to be little doubt that it was the Chiricahua who sold him to the Navajos. The Navajo who purchased him was a man named "Black Clothing", who raised him. He lived in the family of Kla (T', a, Lefthand), a headman, who may have been the same man as "Black Clothing" or a near relative. (Per Willeto Jesus Arviso, Statement File, NLC, and McLaws to Rich, Dec. 16, 1860, NA, RWD, RG 48, DNM, LR, C-12/1861)

On November 19th, 1860, Jesus Arviso was sent by his Navajo owners to ask for peace of troops operating about 19 miles south of Fort Defiance near Oak Springs. He went on horseback and waved a piece of white sheepskin as a flag of truce, shouting at the troops in Spanish. Captain L. McLaws, commanding the troops, ordered them not to fire. Arviso came up to the troops and stated his message. McLaws was not authorized to grant his request, but gave him the freedom of choice of returning to the Navajos or remaining with the troops and serving as a guide. Arviso accepted the offer of work as guide. He was still quite young, for McLaws called him a boy, but he was already familiar with the country as far as the mesa south of Navajo Springs and down the Puerco for about 20 miles from that point, where he directed the troops to a spring which was not known to the other guides. He also knew a trail through the Zuni Mountains which was unknown to the other guides. McLaws proposed paying him as a principal guide, stating that he was beyond doubt the best that he had.

At the time that Arviso was sent to meet the troops he was with some bands of Navajos that included relatives of Armijo, the son of Sarcillos Largos and Hastin-ah. He told the troops where to find some Indian women gathering wild potatoes and stated that he had been told to return with the Army's reply at Navajo Springs. Neither he nor the other guides were able or willing to take the troops to wherever the Navajos went from Navajo Springs.

The Navajos were not eager to fight. Sarcillos Largos had been killed sometime previously, and one guide thought that the bands had fled to Sierra Escudilla, which was farther than the troops' supplies could carry them.

(McLaws, <u>supra</u>) Not long after Arviso was hired as a guide, Major Canby compiled a list of Navajo chiefs which included the son of Sarcillos Largos, Hastin-ah, Kla and Armijo, but he stated that he was unable to learn anything about "the character, standing and influence" of the first three.

(Canby to Asst. Adj. General, Dec. 27, 1860, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-4/1861) In a later list Canby identified Kla as also being known as "El Barbon No. 3", (Canby, Jan. 13, 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-34/1861 encl.) but he signed the treaty of 1861 merely under the name of Kla (Treaty, Feb. 15, 1861, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, C-32/1861 encl.)

In 1863 Arviso was serving as Navajo Interpreter at Fort Wingate and brought three headmen to that post from some place beyond Zuni to discuss Carleton's ultimatum with Chavez, commanding officer. The headmen were Barboncito, Delgadito and Sarracino. These headmen declined to remove their people to Fort Sumner. (Chavez to Cutler, July 9, 1863, NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LS) It is possible that Barboncito was the same man as "El Barbon No. 3", but there is no proof of this and a later list of chiefs reports him as "El Barbon No. 2". (NA, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, 71-C-97/1864 encl.)

Arviso went to Fort Sumner and served as interpreter there. He was married to a Navajo woman at the time he went to Fort Sumner. (Jones, 1933, p. 29) He did not speak English and when dealing with English-speaking officials two translations were required, from Navajo to Spanish by Arviso and from Spanish to English by another interpreter. In March 1865 he accompanied a party of headmen to Santa Fe to interpret their effort to convince Manuelito that he and his people should surrender and come to New

Mexico. (Carleton, Mar. 21, 1865, in Report to the Joint Special Committee, Condition of the Indian Tribes, 1865, pp. 221-22)

At Fort Sumner he took an active part in defense against other tribes that raided the Navajos there, including leading a pursuit of Apache raiders. (Jones, 1933, p. 17)

While at Fort Sumner, Jesus Arviso married another
Navajo woman, Yohazbaa', a member of the Nanasht'ezhii
Clan and the daughter of Asdzaan Sa'altsisigii, "Small Old
Lady," and Tsii'wooli, "Shaved Head" of the Ta'neszanii
Clan. Yohazbaa' was born near Newcomb and raised in the
country east of Tohatchi. (Per Willeto Jesus Arviso) She
was a sister to his first wife. (Jones, 1933, p. 29) One
of these sisters was probably the woman mentioned by Captain
Bristol in his description of the Navajos which he based
upon information given him by Arviso in 1865, when Arviso
had lived among the Navajos for fifteen years. At that time
he was still considered a captive, but he was a married man
and was serving as interpreter. A story relating to Arviso's
wife, as reported by Bristol, is as follows:

alarming extent. The interpreter informs me that he has seen an Indian apparently in perfect health drop dead. The witches at one time put the evil spirit in his wife; she was about to die, when some other witches administered a little bear's gall, dried in the sun, when she immediately recovered.... (Conditions of the Indian Tribes, 1865, p. 358)

The description written by Bristol suggests that Arviso had a better understanding of Navajo culture than he was able to convey to Bristol, although Arviso was doubtless too young to have the kind of knowledge that would have made him an ideal informant on all phases of Navajo life.

Three years later Arviso performed the service that was probably the high point of his career as an interpreter, when he translated during the negotiations of the Treaty of 1868 which allowed the Navajos to return to their own country. Jesus Arviso was the Navajo-Spanish interpreter and James Sutherland the Spanish-English interpreter. The negotiations began on May 28th and the Treaty was signed on

June 1st. (NA, OSI, Ind. Div., RG 48, Treaties File, Treaty No. 372) His role here undoubtedly greatly increased his prestige among the Navajos.

Arviso returned with the Navajos from Fort Sumner and settled east of Tohatchi where he raised a family. In 1872 he was the government interpreter at Fort Defiance. He was with Agent Miller when the latter was killed by Utes on the San Juan in that year. (Beadle, 1873, p. 526; NA, OIA, RG 75, NM Supt., LR, File P-912, encl., Keams to Pope, June 13, 1872) In 1880 he gave Washington Matthews information which led to the first published reports of Navajo sandpainting. (Matthews, 1897, p. 39) In 1881 Agent Bennett listed him as a possible witness to illegal sale of whiskey to Indians, describing him as a "Mexican who has lived with the Navajos since he was a child, and who is a good interpreter". (Bennett to A.A.A. General, 18 June 1881, Ft. Defiance Letterbooks, FD-1, pp. 333-35) In the same year three wagons and sets of harness belonging to the Navajo Agency were on loan, these being used by Manuelito and Mariano, two headmen, and Jesus Arviso. (Bennett to Eastman, 20 July 1881, Ft. Defiance Letterbooks, FD-1, p. 370) Not long after, the new agent, Galen Eastman, requested permission to issue wagons and harness to six "Chiefs", including Jesus Arviso, to aid them in building houses and in farming. (Eastman to Commissioner, 28 July 1881, Ft. Defiance Letterbooks, FD-1, pp. 385-86)

In 1907 and 1908 he was apparently engaged primarily in stock-raising, as he sometimes sold beef to the agency at Fort Defiance. (Ft. Defiance Letterbooks, FD-43, pp. 200, 271, 298)

In May 1919, he was invited, along with Chee Dodge, Dugal Chee Bikis, Denet Tsosey and "Willie," by Supt. Paquette, to come to Fort Defiance to meet a congressional delegation. (Ft. Defiance Letterbooks, FD-61, p. 3)

He sometimes appears in old photos taken of groups of Navajo headmen. At this time he was quite different in appearance from the Navajos. (See BAE photographic files) As younger Navajos learned English, his services as an interpreter became less important. His name is less frequent in official correspondence, and he appears to have spent the latter part of his life tending to his own affairs, neither working for the government nor getting into trouble with the agency. He died about 1932 at Cubero. (Van Valkenburgh, 1938, p. 37)

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